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Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois

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Abstract: A historical essay on the history, settlement, and events which took place in Nauvoo, Illinois.

“At that time (1839) there was a little village on the river shore, where Nauvoo now stands, called Commerce, with but a few houses. Below was the farm of Hugh White, and out northeast on the hill, where the Temple since stood, was the farm of Daniel H. Wells, another old settler, who * * * joined the Church, and finally left with the rest for Salt Lake, where he has since become a leader high in authority among them. Alongside of this village of Commerce lay the lots and squares, and streets and parks of Commerce City—a *paper town* which, a few months before, had been ushered into existence by a brace of Eastern speculators.

“Opposite, across the Mississippi, in the then Territory of Iowa, stood the barracks of the old fort Des Moines, but lately vacated by the U. S. Dragoons and occupied by a few settlers. Here was also the land-office of the New York half-breed land company. The village of Keokuk, on the same side and twelve miles below, also on the half-breed lands, had but a few inhabitants, while Fort Madison, above, had a somewhat larger population.

“In Hancock County was Warsaw, 18 miles below, with a population of, say, 300; Carthage, the county seat, had not so many; Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Fountain Green, La Harpe, Chili, and a few others, had been laid out (chiefly in 1836), and contained each a few families, and were in the midst of young and fast growing settlements. There was no newspaper in the county; *The Carthaginian*, at Carthage, had, in 1836-37, a sickly existence, and had now 'gone where the woodbine twineth.' The population of the

county was probably 6,000; by the census of 1840 it was 10,000, including the then Mormon emigrants.*

“Such was the status of Hancock County and its neighborhood when the Mormon exodus from Missouri began. That people crossed directly eastward to Quincy, in Illinois, through North Missouri, as the nearest and best route to a place of safety. Their leader was yet in jail, but he, somehow escaping, soon made his appearance among them, and at once began operations for planting a 'new Stake,' and gathering his followers around him. The first intention was to settle on the half-breed lands in Iowa, to which Smith had been invited through correspondence with Dr. Isaac Galland before leaving Missouri. Dr. Galland had interest in those lands, and also resided and held some interest at Commerce. For various reasons, chief of which was imperfect title, the negotiation as to the half-breed lands fell through, and the main body of the Mormons remained in Hancock County, though numbers had already settled on the other side of the river.”

NAUVOO.

Nauvoo is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, in Hancock County, Illinois, near the head of what are usually called the Des Moines Rapids, 12 miles by river above Keokuk (Iowa) and Hamilton (Illinois), 18 miles above Warsaw (Illinois), 50 miles above Quincy, (Illinois), 190 miles above St. Louis (Mo.) and 1,200 miles above New

*The official census for 1840 gives the population of Hancock County as follows: 5,284 males, 4,724 females; total 10,008. Of this number 1,838 were subject to military duty. In 1830 the population of the county was 448, thus showing an increase of 9,560 during the ten years.

Orleans. It is also 9 miles by river below Fort Madison (Iowa), 30 miles below Burlington (Iowa), and 100 miles below Rock Island (Iowa).

The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful situation. "Carrying with it also," says the Prophet Joseph, "the idea of rest." And, indeed, the location of the city is most commanding and beautiful. But few, if any, sites on the Mississippi River, all the way from New Orleans to the head-waters of navigation, can compare with it. No sooner does one come in view of it than he exclaims: "It is rightly named." The Mississippi, which, opposite what was once Commerce, is over a mile in width, gracefully sweeps round its rock-bound shore in a semi-circle, then falls off to the first chain of the rapids. Above the city the river approaches in a westerly course; below, it glides winding over the rapids southward, presenting a long reach of green and wooded bluffs on either side to Keokuk and Hamilton. From the immediate bank of the river—a few feet above high water mark—the ground is nearly level for six or seven blocks, when begins a gradual ascent to the Temple Block, where, after a rise of 60 or 70 feet, it again falls off to the common level of the prairie, which stretches out to the eastward further than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, relieved here and there by patches of timber, but now chequered with meadows and well cultivated farms. Within the city limits there are a few bad ravines and broken bluffs, which break the monotony and give variety to the landscape.

The curve of the river around the city forms a somewhat pointed half circle. A straight line back of it, from where it intersects the shore above and below, will measure about four miles; while the water line measurement around its western side is nearly twice that distance.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and are covered for the most part with a fine growth of timber. Nestling near the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river is the little town of Montrose. Back of the bluffs rolls off the alternate prairie and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island about three-fourths of a mile in length and from 50 to 200 yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south. On this island is a heavy growth of small timber, which prevents Montrose from being seen from the opposite Nauvoo shore.

The Des Moines Rapids below Nauvoo were formerly a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi River at this point, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty of late, however, has been obviated by the general government building a fine canal running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Nashville, a distance of seven miles. It cost about four million dollars.

The history of Nauvoo commences with Captain James White, a native of Ohio, who emigrated to Missouri Territory in 1818, three years before

it became a State. In 1823 or 1824 he came to reside and trade with the Sac and Fox Indians, who at that time had a large village of some 400 or 500 lodges at the head of the rapids where Nauvoo afterwards was built. In 1824 the treaty was made with those Indians by the Federal Government, by which they relinquished their lands on the east side of the river. Captain White wishing to obtain possession of the site of their village, induced them to vacate in his favor in consideration of 200 sacks of corn, which he paid them. They then loaded their *wik-ke-ups* and other "plunder" into their canoes and paddled across the Mississippi to the Iowa shore. On the vacated spot Mr. White opened out a farm, but his chief occupation during the remainder of his life—or until the business was superseded by steamboats—was that of keelboating on the Mississippi. His old residence stood on the bank of the river near where the Nauvoo House or L. C. Bidamon's residence now stands, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids.

A few years after he settled there a post office—the first one in Hancock County—was established at, or near his residence, and called Venus. The name was perhaps suggested by Mr. White, but the Hancock County records do not show that a town ever was laid out by that name. Venus contained the residence of Captain White, a store owned by Alexander White, one of the captain's sons, and the residence of George Y. Cutler, near by. But whether these houses were near enough together to constitute a village is unknown.

We have been unable to learn what year the post office of Venus was first established, or who the first

postmaster was, but it seems that the place was known as Venus in 1829, when the first court was held in Hancock County. At that time there were only two villages in the county—Venus and Montebello, the latter being situated on the river a few miles below Venus. At Montebello the first session of the Hancock County court was held, and the two neighborhoods competed with each other for the possession of the county seat, neither, however, being successful in obtaining what was desired, as Carthage, which was more centrally located, was selected for the county seat in 1833.

Captain White died in June, 1837. One of his sons, Hugh White (of whom the Church bought their first parcel of land in Hancock County in 1839), resided for many years near the old place and followed the business of steamboat piloting; he was widely known between St. Louis and Galena.

In 1834 a town was laid out by Joseph B. Teas and Alexander White about a mile up the river from Venus and called Commerce, and about three years later, in 1837, Commerce City, immediately above its namesake on the river was laid out by Horace R. Hotchkiss and John Gillett, two speculators from Connecticut. The streets of these two *paper towns* were laid out square with the shore opposite them, and were afterwards included in Nauvoo, although not made a part of the plat of that city.

In the fall of 1838, a brother in the Church by the name of Israel Barlow left the State of Missouri under the exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. By missing his way, or, what is more likely,

directed by the hand of a kind providence, he did not leave the State by the same route as the great body of the people, but, taking a northeasterly course, struck the Des Moines River a short distance above the mouth, in the Territory of Iowa. He was without food, destitute of clothing and in a sad condition. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the State *en masse*. His relation of the sufferings of the Saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors enlisted their sympathies, and they gave Elder Barlow letters of introduction to several gentlemen; among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence living at Commerce. Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce, and under date of Feb. 26, 1839, he wrote to the Saints located in Quincy, that several farms could doubtless be rented in that locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to the Church, another and a previous one had been made of 20,000 acres, between the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers. This tract was offered for sale at \$2.00 per acre, to be paid in 20 annual payments without interest.

Consequently a conference was convened by the Saints at Quincy in February, 1839, and the advisability of making the purchase, and settling the Saints in a body came up for consideration. But it was decided

at that time that it was not advisable to locate lands at present.

Subsequently, however, March 9, 1839, the Saints, having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa, the people and officers of the Territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiled Saints. Robert Lucas, the governor of Iowa, had known the Saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the "Mormon" people, when they were in Ohio, were good and virtuous citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in his Territory. In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney general for the same Territory, gave him to understand that he would so far as within his power, protect the "Mormon" people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing, was ever done by this committee.

Joseph's arrival at Quincy, April 22, 1839, was the signal for action. Two days after his arrival (April 24th) he called and presided over a council of the Church, at which, in connection with Bishop Vinson Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled Saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

The committee appointed started

for Iowa on the 25th (April), and spent several days looking at the different locations which were presented in Lee County, Iowa, and about Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois. On the 1st of May, Joseph, in connection with other members of the committee, purchased from Hugh White a farm of 135 acres, for which they agreed to pay \$5,000; also another and larger farm (lying west of the White purchase) of Dr. Isaac Galland for \$9,000. The committee desired that these farms should be deeded to Alanson Ripley, but Sidney Rigdon, manifesting a rather sour disposition, said that no committee should control any property that he had anything to do with. So the purchase made of Dr. Galland was deeded to Rigdon's son-in-law, George W. Robinson, with the understanding that he should deed it to the Church as soon as they had paid for it according to the contract. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce, and the place is thus described by Joseph:

"When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there were one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce. *

* * The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthy that very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

The small collection of houses mentioned by Joseph, was situated immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo

were one stone and three small log houses. It was one of these humble dwellings (one of the log houses) into which Joseph moved with his family May 10, 1839. This house also stood on the bank of the river about a mile south of Commerce City on grounds that afterwards became "Block 155 of the White Purchase" or the corner of Water and Main Streets. The Nauvoo House was subsequently commenced on the block lying immediately east of it, across Main Street.

In the forepart of June, 1839, Elder Theodore Turley raised the first house built by the Saints in Commerce, on "Lot 4, Block 147, of the White Purchase," or on the corner of what afterwards were named Water and Carlin Streets, on the same block upon which Joseph afterwards built the Nauvoo Mansion.

After securing the first farms of Hugh White and Doctor Galland, the Church subsequently made more extensive purchases of Dr. Galland, Davidson Hibbard, Daniel H. Wells, Horace R. Hotchkiss, Wm. White and others. At intervals, down to May, 1843, Nauvoo received as many as fifteen additions by Hiram and Ethan Kimball, Hyrum Smith, Daniel H. Wells, Davidson Hibbard, Herringshaw & Thompson, George W. Robinson, Joseph Smith, James Robinson's heirs, Benjamin Warrington and John T. Barnett. Some of these additions lie in Sonora Township.

Considerable difficulty and embarrassment to Joseph personally and to the Church arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph for the Church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for

which he was to receive \$53,500, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges that were made of property in the East, by some of the Saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; but this matter was finally amicably settled.

The terms on which Dr. Galland let the Church have lands were extremely advantageous to the Saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritances they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the Saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of \$80,000. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence, all of which he used for the good of the exiled Saints in giving them a character among his friends. Finally he joined the Church, thus casting his lot with the exiled people he had assisted, and from that time until his death partook of their joys and their sorrows, and shared their fortunes and reverses.

In addition to these land purchases in Hancock County, the village of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, and 20,000 acres of land adjoining was bought. (See *Nashville*.) Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Vinson Knight, and a settle-

ment started there, called Zarahemla, which was opposite Nauvoo. (See *Zarahemla*.)

“During the summer of 1839” writes B. H. Roberts, “the Saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Commerce, and settle on the lands which had been purchased by the Church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well nigh wrecked the people. They had been stripped of their earthly possessions, until they were reduced to the most abject poverty. And the exposure and hardships endured, made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. Another thing which doubtless contributed to make them unable to resist the ravages of disease, was the fact that a period of relaxation was following the intense excitement, under which they had lived for nearly a year past.

“The spirit has such power over the body when it is once thoroughly aroused, that for a time it so braces up the body that it is almost impregnable to disease, and knows no fatigue. But this cannot continue long. It wears out the body; and as soon as the excitement is removed, then comes the period of relaxation, when the body sinks down from sheer exhaustion.

“Such was the condition of the exiled Saints who came flocking into Nauvoo, in the summer of 1839. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from that State was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria. Such was their

condition on the morning of the 22nd of July. Joseph's house was crowded with the sick that he was trying to nurse back to health. In his doorway were a number of people camped in tents, who had but newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the Saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the purifying influence of God's Spirit rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his door-yard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed of their sickness." (See page 473.)

The Twelve Apostles, having returned from their visit to Far West in fulfillment of a revelation (see page 466), now began to make preparations to further comply with the words of God commanding them to "depart to go over the great waters, and there promulgate the Gospel." (See page 437.) Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Commerce for England. Elder Woodruff at this time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young, Aug. 8, 1839. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. While there President Joseph Smith came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?"

"Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply.

"What did you say that for?" asked Joseph, "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they started on their mission. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bare headed and bare footed, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

Aug. 29th, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the 14th of the following month Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time with sickness, and at the time of starting on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only about thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten days old, and in the poorest of circumstances; for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain

there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing that he was unable to get further than Brother Kimball's, had a boy carry her in a wagon to him. On the 18th, however, Brigham, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife shaking on the bed with ague, and all his children sick. With the assistance of some of the brethren they climbed into the wagon.

"It seemed to me," says Elder Kimball, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer."

Brigham with much difficulty rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!"

They then continued their journey, without purse and without scrip, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock and Theodore Turley, Sept. 21, 1839, was but little less remarkable. They were feeble in health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset, and spilled them out down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into their wagon and they resumed their jour-

ney. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentlemen who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" The remark was elicited by the ghostly appearance of the Elders *en route* for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without scrip, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people, who were as poor as themselves, that their families should be provided for, they turned their faces towards Europe, to preach the Gospel to the highly civilized peoples of the world.

On the 5th, 6th and 7th of October, 1839, a general conference of the Church was held in Commerce. It was the first conference held at that place. On the first day of the conference a Stake of Zion was organized at Commerce, over which William Marks was called to preside. N. K. Whitney was appointed to act as Bishop of the middle Ward, Edward Partridge of the upper Ward and Vinson Knight of the lower Ward. The following named brethren were chosen as members of the High Council: George W. Harris, Samuel Bent, Henry G. Sherwood, David Fullmer, Alpheus Cutler, William Huntington, Thomas Grover, Newel Knight, Charles C. Rich, David Dort, Seymour Brunson and Lewis D. Wilson.

On the same day a branch of the Church was organized on the other side of the river, in Iowa Territory. (See *Zarahemla*.) Orson Hyde and William Smith who had been temporarily suspended from their offices, were restored to their former positions as Apostles in the Church. During this conference about fifty

brethren were ordained Elders in the Church, and Elias Higbee appointed to accompany Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to Washington.

Oct. 21, 1839, the High Council voted that "James Mulholland be appointed clerk for the land contracts, that Joseph Smith act as treasurer, that Henry G. Sherwood, price, exhibit, contract and sell town lots in Commerce, and that \$500 be the standard price of lots; that is, none less than \$200, nor more than \$800." On the 28th the High Council voted to build a stone house at Upper Commerce (Commerce City) to be used for boarding, and that Samuel Bent, Davidson Hibbard and David Dort act as trustees for building a stone school house which was in contemplation.

The following day, Joseph Smith, accompanied by Sidney Rigdon and others, started for Washington, D. C., from which trip he returned March 4, 1840. (See pages 473-479.)

In November, 1839, the first number of the *Times and Seasons* was published at Commerce by Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, in the interest of the Church. (See *Times and Seasons*.) At that time there was no other paper published in Hancock County. Three years previous, in June, 1836, Thomas Gregg published at Carthage the first newspaper ever issued in the county. It was called the *Carthaginian* and was owned by a company of citizens; but after a precarious existence of less than a year it was purchased by Dr. Isaac Galland, one of the proprietors, and removed to Fort Des Moines, Wisconsin Territory, now Montrose, Iowa, its editor-printer going with it. There the new paper was called the *West-*

ern Adventurer, but it did not live very long. After the suspension of the *Carthaginian* Hancock County was without a newspaper of any kind until November, 1839, when the *Times and Seasons* was first issued.

In the spring of 1840, Daniel N. White, editor and publisher of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, was induced to bring a press to Warsaw, where he commenced the publication of a paper called the *Western World*. It was a six column weekly, at \$2.00 per year. At the end of six months Mr. White sold his establishment to Thomas C. Sharp and James Gamble, a journeyman printer. These men, at the end of the first year changed the title of their paper to the *Warsaw Signal*, a name which continued in Warsaw through various changes, with short intervals of rest, for a period of about thirteen years. It was the *Warsaw Signal*, through its editor, Mr. Thomas C. Sharp, which advocated in the strongest terms the expulsion of the Saints from Hancock County. Mr. Sharp is still alive and is now editing the *Carthage Gazette*, at Carthage, Illinois. The *Warsaw Signal*, and the periodicals issued at Nauvoo were the only papers published in Hancock County up to the time the Saints left.

April 21, 1840, through the influence of Richard M. Young, the postmaster-general at Washington, D. C., changed the name of the post office at Commerce to Nauvoo, agreeable to the wishes of the new citizens (the Saints) there, and appointed George W. Robinson postmaster.

By the 1st of June, 1840, the Saints had already erected about two hundred and fifty houses at Nauvoo. They were mostly block houses, but there were also a few frame dwell-

ings. Many more houses were in course of erection and the town was rapidly increasing in population. By that time, also, about one thousand acres of land had been laid off into blocks and lots. Each block contained four lots, and each lot, except a few fractional ones, was 11 by 12 rods in size, "which," writes Alanson Ripley in the *Times and Seasons* of June, 1840, "makes excellent gardens, and fills the definition of the Hebrew word Nauvoo, a delightful plantation."

Missouri was watching the progress of Nauvoo from a distance, and when she saw that the persecutions the Saints had endured in that State had not destroyed them as an organized community, but that they were on the eve of enjoying an era of prosperity as they never before had enjoyed, she employed all her cunning to incite the hatred of the citizens of Illinois against them. But this was not easily accomplished; and, at first, the misrepresentations of a State that had been guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against the Saints had but little weight in Illinois.

Finding that their accusations against the people, whom they had so wronged, had little or no effect, an effort was made to give coloring to their statements; and stolen goods were conveyed from Missouri to the vicinity of Nauvoo, so that when they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. But doubtless being emboldened by reason of the general government's refusing to make any effort to redress the wrongs of the Saints, a

company of men led by William Al lensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsly, John Bain, Light T. Tait and Halsay White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois, at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers; and without any writ or warrant of any character, whatever, they dragged them over to Missouri, to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis County. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, and a rope placed around his neck; he was then hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing, and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatened frequently, a man by the name of Monday, exclaiming: "G—d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow." He was finally, however, released without being whipped.

After they had received this inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character; that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

"TULLY, MISSOURI, July 12, 1840.

"The people of Tully, having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

"By order of the Committee.

H. M. WOODYARD."

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were informed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as

“Mormons” were loud in their condemnation of it, and at once a mass meeting was called, July 13, 1840, and resolutions were adopted, expressing their unqualified indignation, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed this outrage, and, by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

Daniel H. Wells, not then a member of the Church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin, and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the men who were the victims of the Missourians, the governor's wife, who was present at the interview, was moved to tears, and the governor himself was greatly agitated. He promised to counsel with the State attorney, who by law was made his adviser, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and the law to justify. Just what was done by Governor Carlin, however, we are unable to learn; but one thing is certain, and that is, the guilty parties were never brought to justice, nor even to a trial—indeed it may be that even then the love which Governor Carlin once had for the Saints, and which at last became dead, had begun to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a demand of Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight,

Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. (See page 478.)

These circumstances gave the Saints to understand that their peace in their beautiful situation on the banks of the Mississippi was not to be without alloy. They gave to them a premonition of danger, for these incidents were indeed the few drops of rain which sometimes precede the storm. A kind Providence, however, shut out from their vision how fierce that storm would be.

During the year 1840, a number of prominent men, who had proven themselves faithful and true to the cause of God, died in Nauvoo, some of them from the effects of their sufferings in Missouri. Among them was Bishop Edward Partridge who died May 27, 1840, and Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's father, who departed this life Sept. 14, 1840.

At the general conference held in Nauvoo, Oct. 5th, 6th and 7th, 1840, it was resolved to petition the State Legislature to incorporate the town of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett and Robert B. Thompson were appointed to draft a petition and a bill. At the same conference it was resolved to build a “House of the Lord” at Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The bill for the incorporation of Nauvoo was duly presented to the Legislature, at Springfield, and passed the House of Representatives with only one or two dissenting votes, and the senate with no opposition, whatever. The charter, including charters for the “Nauvoo Legion” and the “University of the city of Nauvoo,” was signed by Governor Thomas Carlin Dec. 16, 1840. The charter described the boundaries of

the city—embracing nearly seven square miles, including the town plats of Nauvoo and Commerce—but gave to the citizens (whom it erected a body corporate and politic) the right to extend the area of the city whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. The first Monday in February, 1841, was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was, that they do nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the State constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such laws, as in the wisdom of the city council, were necessary for the peace, good order and general welfare of the city.

The leading men of the State appeared not only willing, but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the Saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house, especially, stood by the Saints, and pleaded for their rights, together with Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross and Stapp; while John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, manfully discharged his duties to the Nauvoo portion of his constituents, by using all his energy to secure them their city government.

The Saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by

their city charter, and of it Joseph said:

“I concocted it for the salvation of the Church and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influences, without distinction of sect or party.”

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was “concocted for the salvation of the Church,” it by no means secured that salvation by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the Saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for the Saints; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to come and assist in building it up and partake of its liberty and other advantages. An official proclamation of the Saints, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith (the First Presidency of the Church), contains the following passage:

“We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow-citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place (Nauvoo) or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the State of Illinois.”

By this time the inhabitants of Nauvoo had increased to more than three thousand souls. Much of the surrounding country had been brought into subjection to the skill of the husbandman, while industries of various kinds had begun a struggle for existence. A charter for a railroad between Warsaw and Nauvoo had been secured, which promised to

obviate some of the difficulties of the commerce of the beautiful city, by reason of the rapids in the river during low water. A number of public buildings had been planned, among them the "House of the Lord," the foundation of which was begun ten days after the October conference, 1840. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) The healthiness of the place during the past year had been greatly improved by the digging of wells and draining off stagnant waters, and there was now but little or no sickness among the inhabitants. The Saints were also blessed with an abundant harvest in the year 1840.

Feb. 1, 1841, the first election for members of the Nauvoo city council, as provided by the city charter, took place. John C. Bennett was elected mayor; Wm. Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells and Newel K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John F. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don Carlos Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. Two days later (Feb. 3rd) the city council was organized, on which occasion the mayor elect delivered his inaugural address. Henry G. Sherwood was appointed marshal; James Sloan, recorder; Robert B. Thompson, treasurer; James Robinson, assessor, and Austin Cowles, supervisor of streets. The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for its privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

Resolved, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to

the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the State of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of noble, high-minded and patriotic statesmen, and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred; and that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance of their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want."

The next move was to pass ordinances in relation to the Nauvoo Legion and the University. The latter appointed a chancellor (John C. Bennett) and board of regents. A site for a building was subsequently selected and plans for the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

On Feb. 15th, the city council passed a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city. (See page 480.)

On the 23rd of February, 1841, a bill, previously passed by the State Legislature, was approved by Governor Carlin, incorporating the "Nauvoo House Association" (see *Nauvoo House*), and on the 27th another incorporating the "Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association;" the object of the last named association was the "promotion of agriculture and husbandry in all their branches, and the manufacture of flour, lumber and such other useful articles as are necessary for the ordinary purposes of life." The capital stock of this association was put at \$100,000, with privilege of increasing to \$300,000.

On the 1st of March an ordinance was passed by the Nauvoo city council in relation to religious liberty. It provided that all religious sects and denominations should have free

toleration and equal privileges within the city, and that any person ridiculing or abusing another on account of his religious belief, should, on conviction thereof, before the mayor or municipal court, be fined in any sum not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding six months. On that day also the city council, at Joseph Smith's suggestion, divided Nauvoo into four Wards, to wit:

"All that district of country within the city limits, north of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, shall constitute the 1st Ward. North of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 2nd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 3rd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, the 4th Ward."

The city council also ordered the town lots of Commerce to be vacated, that the survey of the city of Nauvoo might be carried through the town plats of Commerce, and that the same be incorporated forever with the city of Nauvoo. These things, together with training the Legion and preparing in a general way for the conference to be commenced on the 6th of April, 1841, occupied the attention of the people of Nauvoo through the winter.

At the general conference which was commenced in Nauvoo April 6, 1841, the corner stones of a Temple were laid. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) During the remaining days of the conference, which was continued from Wednesday morning till Sunday night, and was one of the most important conferences ever held by the Church, the Saints were instructed in principle and doctrine; the quorums of the Priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business put

to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and re-appointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in a revelation given a few weeks previous. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.) Besides this the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the Church. Amasa M. Lyman was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the First Presidency as an assistant President, until Sidney Rigdon's health should be restored. Every thing necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the Saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments.

The circumstances surrounding the Saints at that time were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all the leading men of the State; the universal sympathy felt by the people of the State for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the State Legislature in granting the several charters all supported that hope. Yet, early in the summer of 1841, an event happened which threatened the peace of the inhabitants of Nauvoo. We allude to the arrest of Joseph Smith on a requisition from the governor of Missouri, June 5, 1841. (See pages 482-485.)

With the exception of the difficulties connected with this unwarranted arrest of the Prophet and a few minor ones, the summer of 1841 glided pleasantly by, bringing to the busy

inhabitants of Nauvoo many seasons of social and spiritual refreshment. Their city was the most promising and thrifty in the great State of Illinois, and the fame thereof had gone abroad everywhere, which together with the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, attracted much attention of the people. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting their religion. A large bowery was constructed just west of the Temple site where the people assembled for worship. Here the young Prophet preached his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

“Fools who came to mock,
“Remained to pray.”

Heber C. Kimball, writing from Nauvoo in July, 1841, described the appearance of the city at that time in the following language:

“You know there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time there are 1,200, and hundreds of others in progress, which will be finished soon. On Friday last, 70 Saints came to Nauvoo, led by Lorenzo Barnes, from Chester County, Pennsylvania, in wagons, living in tents by the way. On the next day, a company came in wagons from Canada, all in good spirits, and in two or three days after, they all obtained places to live in. They are coming in from all parts of this vast continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land and calls for preaching in all parts. You will recollect when we built our houses in the woods there was not a house within half a mile of us. Now the place, wild as it was at that time, is converted into a thickly populated village.”

Another account of the rapid progress which Nauvoo had then made,

and of its thriving condition, we quote from the *St. Louis Atlas*:

“The population of Nauvoo is between 8,000 and 9,000, and of course the largest town in the State of Illinois. How long the Latter-day Saints will hold together and exhibit their present aspect, it is not for us to say. At this moment, they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober and thrifty population, such a population, indeed, as in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east, and we rather guess, not even west of the Mississippi.”

While the leading men of the State of Illinois were generally favorably inclined towards the citizens of Nauvoo, the Saints on their part manifested a lively interest in the general concerns of the State; and by no means intended to make either their city or the Legion exclusively “Mormon.” On the contrary they were willing to unite with their fellow-citizens in every good work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the State of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and influence and integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo and assist in building up a glorious city. In July, 1841, Sidney H. Little, of the State senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the “Saints might mourn with those who are called to mourn,” as Joseph puts it, the 18th of July, 1841, was set apart as a day of fasting among the Saints. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good will among their fellow-citizens, and a number of honorable, and some of them influential men, while not accepting the faith of the Saints, became friendly disposed towards them and associated with

them in various business transactions.

But the good will of the Saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the Saints in Nauvoo and vicinity. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa, as will be seen by the following occurrence: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa Territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of that Territory at Montrose, Sept. 14, 1841. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during a recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the troops:

“Citizens of Iowa: The laws of Iowa do not require you to muster or be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they have the impudence to attempt it, it is hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks.”

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted the general's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor Hyrum were in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend the drills and reviews of the Legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the Legion. Kilburn's effort, however, to create a disturbance was not success-

ful, though the papers of the State commented upon it, and some began to whisper that it was Joseph's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, Mohammed-like, by the sword.

May 24, 1841, Joseph called upon the Saints everywhere to come into Hancock County, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closes with these words:

“Let it therefore be understood that all the Stakes excepting those in this county [Hancock] and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued; and the Saints instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit.”

The Twelve Apostles, who had left Nauvoo on their missions to England under very trying circumstances about two years before, returned during the summer, after accomplishing one of the most successful and remarkable missions in modern times. They were a tower of strength to Joseph, and he was not long in availing himself of their valuable support. At a special conference convened in Nauvoo Aug. 16, 1841, Joseph said that “the time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency; and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church at the Stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations.” And he at once turned over to their management many of the temporal affairs with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

One of the most pleasing events that happened, during the summer of 1841, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk, to Nauvoo. (See page 486.)

Oct. 2, 1841, the corner stones of the Nauvoo House were laid in Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo House*.) On that day the semi-annual conference of the Church also commenced; it was continued for four days, and much good instruction was given. (See page 486.) Joseph made a full report of the Church property in his charge as trustee-in-trust for the Church; and a few days later, in an epistle of the Twelve Apostles to the Saints generally, an account was given of the Prophet's own earthly possessions, of which the following is a copy:

"Old Charley, a horse given to him several years before in Kirtland; two pet deers; two old turkeys and four young ones; an old cow given to him by a brother in Missouri; old Major, a dog; his wife, children, and a little household furniture."

A few bad characters had at that time attached themselves to the Church in Nauvoo and vicinity, and gave a coloring to the charges that were made against the Church, to the effect that the leaders thereof sanctioned stealing, so long as it was practiced on those not belonging to the Church. Such were the rumors given out by some members of the Church engaged in this infamous business. On the 18th of November a nest of such vipers was uncovered at Ramus, a place 20 miles east of Nauvoo; and they were promptly excommunicated from the Church by the Apostles, who were holding a conference at the place on the date above mentioned. Both Joseph and Hyrum took advantage of the occasion to make affidavits before proper officers of the law to the effect: that they had never given their sanction to such infamous doctrine as that attributed to them; and the Twelve Apostles in an epistle to the public,

disavowed ever sanctioning the crime of theft.

Hyrum in his affidavit dated Nov. 26, 1841, says:

"I hereby disavow any sanction or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-men may be unlawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency or any other persons in authority or good standing in the Church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of the Church, contrary to the teachings given in said Church, and the laws of both God and man."

In a public declaration dated Nov. 29, 1841, to which Joseph appended his affidavit the Prophet said:

"It has been proclaimed upon the house-tops and in the secret chamber, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that the Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime."

Nor were the Twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle dated Dec. 1, 1841, and printed at the same time with the above, they said:

"We know not how to express our abhorrence of such an idea, and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. * * * We further call upon the Church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according

to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land."

About this time, too, there were gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi River, from which the Saints suffered, as many of their horses and cattle were stolen; but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of these robbers were attributed to the Saints, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them.

In December, 1841, the attempt to build up the town of Warren, located one mile south of Warsaw, was abandoned. (See *Warren*.)

In the meantime Nauvoo was rapidly building up. The Temple and Nauvoo House were being pushed ahead with considerable vigor; and many neat cottage homes had taken the place of the rude temporary cabins that had been constructed to shelter the people until their industry could win better homes. The population in the spring of 1842 was between eight and ten thousand, and the stream of emigration from the British mission by that time had commenced to flow in. The new citizens assisted in no small degree to increase the prosperity of this central gathering place of the Saints.

"But the Church had passed through a long period of disaster," writes B. H. Roberts. "Time and again the early members of the Church had been driven away from their homes, and while their faith in their religion remained unshaken, these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial schemes; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims

upon them, their creditors making small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draught upon their resources and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo. Finally, as a means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors, a number of the leading brethren, among them the Prophet Joseph, took advantage of the bankrupt law. Under this law any one owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignor could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency. In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protection it became absolutely necessary. They were financially down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the 'Mormon' leaders were. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom Joseph had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract; but this step placed the brethren beyond the power of their unjust

creditors, and necessity compelled the action."

As early as Dec. 20, 1841, Joseph, as lieutenant-general of the Legion, issued orders for a general military parade and review of the Legion to take place on the 7th of May following. A subsequent order, issued in April, marking out the programme for the day's exercises contained the following clause:

"At 3 o'clock p. m. the cohorts will separate and form in line of battle, the brigadiers assume their respective commands, and General Law's command [cavalry] will make a descent upon that of General Rich's [Cohort C. infantry] in order of sham battle."

The lieutenant-general had invited the consolidated staff of the Legion and their ladies to partake of a *repast militaire*, on the occasion, at his house.

On the morning of the day appointed for the drill and review, two thousand troops were in the field; and an immense concourse of spectators, both of Saints and strangers. Such was the interest taken in the movements of the people of Nauvoo, that a number of the prominent men of the State within easy reach of the city of the Saints attended the review. Judge Stephen A. Douglass adjourned the circuit court, then in session at the county seat, Carthage, in order to attend. As soon as the lieutenant-general heard of the presence of Judge Douglass, he sent him an invitation to attend the military dinner given at his house, which the judge accepted.

It was a glorious day, passing off without drunkenness or noise or disorder; and even the strangers expressed themselves as highly satisfied with what they had witnessed. But even during the brightest days

clouds will sometimes drift across the sun's disc; so in the moments of man's supreme happiness, it often occurs that shadows arise to alarm his fears, and remind him how fleeting are the joys of this life. So was it with the principal founder of Nauvoo on the day of the drill. When the respective cohorts were drawn up in line of battle, a treacherous attempt was made by John C. Bennett, to have Joseph placed in a position where his life would have been in imminent danger. Bennett was soon afterwards expelled from the Church because of his wickedness and whoredoms. (See pages 494-496.)

April 16, 1842, the first number of the *Wasp*, a miscellaneous weekly newspaper was issued in Nauvoo. The next year it was enlarged, and changed its name to the *Nauvoo Neighbor*.

In the summer of 1842, Joseph, who was wickedly accused of being an accessory before the fact of an attempt to murder L. W. Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, found it advisable to absent himself from Nauvoo for a while. (See pages 497-500.) From his places of concealment, he directed the movements of the people at Nauvoo, and managed his own business through faithful agents, who met with him occasionally. Emma, his wife spent considerable of her time with him, and beguiled the loneliness of those weary hours of inactivity, that he whose life is the synonym for intense activity, had to endure.

During those days of exile, one gets a glimpse of the Prophet's private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and his

people:—it was his unbounded love for them. Speaking of a meeting with his friends in the night of Aug. 11, 1842, on the little island near Nauvoo, in the account he gives of it in the Book of the Law of the Lord, he says:

“How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band on the night of the 11th [of August], on the island, at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight, and what transports of joy swelled my bosom, when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and choice of my heart. Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewn our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment!—And again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm, and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!”

Of his brother Hyrum on the same occasion he says:

“There was brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand—a natural brother. Thought I to myself: Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works.”

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, “We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren”—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life!

Some of the brethren proposed that Joseph should go up to the pine woods of Wisconsin, where a number of the brethren were engaged in getting out timber for the Temple and Nauvoo House, until the excitement should subside in Illinois. Of this proposition, Joseph said in a letter to Emma, dated Aug. 16, 1842:

“My mind will eternally revolt at every suggestion of that kind. * * * My safety is with you if you want to have it so. * * * If I go to the pine country, you shall go along with me, and the children; and if you and the children go not with me, I don't go. I do not wish to exile myself for the sake of my own life. I would rather fight it out. It is for your sakes, therefore, that I would do such a thing.”

It appears that Joseph had resolved to submit no longer to the injustice he had suffered from the hands of the people of Missouri. It was rumored that the officers, on leaving Nauvoo, breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the city and vicinity; and Fcrod, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a mob against the “Mormons,” if necessary, to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors, Joseph exchanged several letters with Wilson Law, (who had been recently elected major-general of the Legion, *vice* John C. Bennett cashiered), in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened. In a letter written to Law, dated Aug. 14, 1842, the Prophet said:

“You will see that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will, endeavor to disturb it. You will also see that whenever any mob force, or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto, you will see that that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest at the point

of the sword, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of old Seventy-six and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and blood of the children of the fathers thereof. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the first place, we will take every measure that lays in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision."

To these sentiments there was a willing response of acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to faithfully carry out Joseph's orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise. After a little, however, the excitement began to subside; and as Joseph's hiding place at Derby's was discovered, by a young man who suddenly came upon Joseph and his kind host, on the 17th of August, while they were walking out in the woods for a little exercise, the Prophet moved quietly into the city, staying first at the house of one friend a day or two, and then removing to that of another.

In the meantime the situation was plainly placed before Governor Carlin; and the course that Joseph had taken fully vindicated by letters written to him by Emma, his wife, who displayed no mean ability in the correspondence she opened up with the governor, which so nearly concerned the peace of her family. She directed the attention of the governor to the fact that Joseph had not been in the State of Missouri for some three or four years—that if her husband had been accessory before the fact, to the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, the crime, if committed at all—which she stoutly averred was

not the case—was done in Illinois, and there was no law to drag a man from a State where the crime was committed, into a State where it had not been committed, for trial; and as her husband had not been in the State of Missouri for several years previous to the assault on Boggs, he could not have fled from the justice of that State, and therefore ought not to be given up under the fugitive-from-justice law.

Letters from other prominent citizens of Nauvoo were also sent to the governor; and the Female Relief Society called his attention to the threats of mob violence and invasion from Missouri, and asked that sufficient military protection might be given to insure the peace and safety of the citizens of Nauvoo. All these things the governor treated lightly, and claimed that the only excitement that existed was with the "Mormon" people at Nauvoo, and nowhere else; and there was no need, he insisted, of taking the precautions hinted at by the people. Though when talking on another subject he unwittingly remarked that persons were offering their services every day either in person or by letter, and held themselves in readiness to go against the "Mormons" whenever he should call upon them; but he never had the least idea of calling on the militia, neither had he thought it necessary. He maintained that the proper thing for Joseph to do was to give himself up to the authorities of Missouri for trial, and he had no doubt that he would be acquitted. Judge Ralston asked him how he thought Mr. Smith would go through the midst of his enemies without being subject to violence; and how after his acquittal, he would be able

to return to Illinois. To that proposition the governor could give no satisfactory answer, but made light of the whole matter. And in spite of all the protests sent in by the people of Nauvoo, he made a proclamation that as Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell had resisted the laws, by refusing to go with the officers who had them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of \$200 for each or either of those "fugitives from justice." Governor Reynolds also offered a reward for their arrest, \$300 for each one or either of them.

Joseph continued to remain in the city and moved about cautiously, attending to his business. A tide of popular prejudice had set in of such proportions that it seemed that it would overwhelm the Saints. It had been created largely through the misrepresentations of John C. Bennett, and Joseph at once determined to counteract it if possible. He ordered that a special conference be called for the purpose of appointing Elders to go through the State of Illinois and the East to flood the country with the truth in relation to Bennett's character. The conference was called, and in the interim documents and affidavits were prepared, that the Elders might be armed with proofs, in relation to the facts respecting Bennett and his misrepresentations.

The conference convened on the 29th of August, 1842, the day appointed, and Hyrum Smith addressed the brethren on the mission many of them were expected to go upon. At the conclusion of his remarks Joseph stepped into the stand, to the great joy of his people, many of whom thought he had gone to Washington,

and others to Europe. His appearance created great cheerfulness and animation among the people, and Joseph who was naturally impulsive, was overjoyed to again stand before the Saints. He addressed them in more than his usual spirited manner, and called upon the Elders to go through the States taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have the truth laid before them."

In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, about three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately.

For several days after the conference the Prophet continued about home, but it being revealed to him that his enemies were again on the move to take him, he found it necessary to drop out of sight. Still he occasionally visited his home, and while on one of these visits to his family, he nearly fell into the hands of the officers. (See page 501.)

Joseph's case was soon afterwards brought before the court in Springfield, and he was honorably acquitted. (See page 506.)

Notwithstanding the annoyance from the Missourians and the threatening altitude of the enemies of the Saints generally, Nauvoo continued to grow. On the 20th of August, 1842, the High Council, "Resolved that the city of Nauvoo be divided into ten Wards, according to the division made by the Temple Committee; and that there be a Bishop appointed over each Ward; and also that other Bishops be appointed over such districts immediately out of the city and adjoining thereto as shall be consid-

ered necessary. Resolved that Samuel H. Smith be appointed Bishop in the place of Bishop Vinson Knight, deceased; also that Tarleton Lewis be appointed Bishop of the Fourth Ward; John Murdock, of the Fifth Ward; Daniel Carn, of the Sixth Ward; Jacob Foutz, of the Eighth Ward; Jonathan H. Hale, of the Ninth Ward; Hezekiah Peck, of the Tenth Ward; David Evans, of the district south of the city, called the Eleventh Ward; Israel Calkins, of the district east of the city and south of Knight Street; William W. Spencer, of the district east of the city and north of Knight Street."

At another meeting of the High Council held Dec. 4, 1842, the report of a committee previously appointed for dividing the city into Wards, for transacting Church business, was heard, accepted and adopted, as follows:

"The First Ward is bounded on the north by the city boundary line, and on the south by Brattle Street.

"The Second Ward is bounded on the north by Brattle Street or the First Ward, and on the south by Carlos Street or the Third Ward.

"The Third Ward is bounded on the north by Carlos Street or the Second Ward, and on the south by Joseph Street or the Fourth Ward.

"The Fourth Ward is bounded on the north by Joseph Street or the Third Ward, and on the south by Cutler Street or the Fifth Ward.

"The Fifth Ward is bounded on the north by Cutler Street or the Fourth Ward, and on the south by Mulholland Street.

"The Sixth Ward is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, and on the east by Main Street or the Seventh Ward.

"The Seventh Ward is bounded on the west by Main Street or the Sixth Ward, and on the east by Durfee Street or the Eighth Ward.

"The Eighth Ward is bounded on the west by Durfee Street or the Seventh Ward, and on the east by Robinson Street or the Ninth Ward.

"The Ninth Ward is bounded on the west

by Robinson Street or the Eighth Ward, and on the east by Green Street or the Tenth Ward.

"The Tenth Ward is bounded on the west by Green Street or the Ninth Ward, and on the east by the city boundary line."

In the *Times and Seasons* of Oct. 1, 1842, the following in regard to the status of the town at that time appears:

"For three or four miles upon the river and about the same distance back in the country, Nauvoo presents a city of gardens, ornamented with the dwellings of those who have made a covenant by sacrifice, and are guided by revelation. * * * The city is regularly laid off into blocks containing four lots of 11 by 12 rods each—making all corner lots. It will be no more than probably correct, if we allow the city to contain between seven and eight hundred houses, with a population of fourteen or fifteen thousand people. Many of the houses recently built are of brick, some one story and some two stories high, displaying that skill, economy and industry which have always characterized intelligent minds and laudable intentions. * * * We can therefore, of a truth declare, that within the same length of time, and with the same amount of means, no society on the face of the globe has a better right to the claim of improvement by their own industry, or have offered to their surrounding neighbors a plainer pattern of mechanical skill, domestic economy, practical temperance, common intelligence, every day virtue, and eternal religion, than the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. * * * Two steam mills have been put in operation this season, and many other buildings for mechanical labor, in the various branches of manufacture, are either under way or in contemplation; while the Temple of God (a work of great magnitude) and the Nauvoo House, which, when finished, will hardly be surpassed in the western world, are rising up as monuments of the enterprise, industry and reverence of the commandments of God."

Oct. 30, 1842, the Saints met for worship on the temporary floor of the Temple, for the first time. Previous to this meetings had been held in a grove on the brow of the hill immediately west of that building, the walls of which were now about

four feet high or more above the basement.

Gradually the people of Illinois imbibed the same persecuting spirit which had followed the Saints in all their wanderings. After the election of Thomas Ford to the office of governor of Illinois—notwithstanding he was elected to that position by the votes of the Saints—he expressed himself dissatisfied with the privileges granted to Nauvoo in the charter of incorporation, under which the citizens had prospered. Some members of the Legislature talked of modification, and others, more rapid, of annulling all the charters granted to the city. The bias of the public mind in Illinois was not, however, fully against the people at that time, and consequently the charters were not interfered with, and the citizens of Nauvoo, anxious to believe that the unfounded prejudice against them would ultimately wear itself out, continued in their usual avocations, all tending to increase the importance of the city.

Occasionally, honorable individuals, who had visited the city, would publish accounts which contradicted many of the false reports in circulation against the Saints, which in many cases enlisted the sympathies and respect of persons far and near, and, in some measure, postponed the day of calamity which awaited it and its citizens.

A Mr. Prior, a Methodist minister, who visited the place in the spring of 1843, wrote of it and the people as follows:

“At length the city burst upon my sight, and how sadly was I disappointed. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels, which I expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the west. The

buildings, though many of them were small and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The far-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with the habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken; and instead of being in Nauvoo, of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy, at the city of Leghorn (which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much), and among the eccentric Italians. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall, majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity, and wrested it from the bonds of disease; and in two or three short years, rescued it from a dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities in the west. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with the dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the Temple, which is now raised 15 or 20 feet above the level of the ground. The few trees that were permitted to stand were now in full foliage, and were scattered with a sort of fantastic irregularity over the slope of the hill. I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business—much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality; but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets, nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred or impudent. I heard not an oath in the place. I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite and industrious. I conversed with many leading men, and found them social and well-informed, hospitable and generous. I saw nothing but order and regulation in the society. Where then, I exclaimed, is all this startling proof of the utter profligacy of Nauvoo? Where, in the name of God, is the immorality charged upon the citizens of it; and what dreadful out-breaking crimes have given men the licence to deprecate this place as much as they do? Where is the gang of marauders, horse-thieves and ruffians, the drunkards and vicious men of Nauvoo? Where are the horrid forms of human beings distorted

with hellish rage and maddened ire? Where are the dark and diabolical superstitions? Where are those specimens of credulity and ignorance? Where are those damning doctrines of demons? Where, in fine, is this slough, this sink of iniquity of which I have heard so much? Surely not in Nauvoo. They must have got the wrong place, or willfully lied about it. I could but blush with disappointed shame for my friends who had so misinformed me, and very soon made up my mind, like the Queen of Sheba, not to believe any reports of enemies, but to always, like her, go and see for myself."

Indeed, Nauvoo was now rapidly advancing in population, wealth and every other characteristic of a great city. An Englishman, who saw it at that time, and wrote a letter to the *Times and Seasons*, said:

"Look and see what they have done at Nauvoo during the comparatively short time they have been there. If they are enabled to proceed as they have commenced, their town ere long will become a mighty city. I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances."

The 4th of July, 1843, was celebrated in grand style at Nauvoo. Two meetings were held in the grove, which were attended by nearly fifteen thousand people. In the forenoon Orson Hyde delivered a powerful and appropriate speech, and in the afternoon Parley P. Pratt treated the large assembly to a masterly discourse. During the day three steamboats arrived with passengers—one from Quincy, one from St. Louis, and one from Burlington—bringing from 800 to 1,000 passengers. On the arrival of each boat, the people were escorted by the Nauvoo Band to convenient seats provided for them, and were welcomed by the firing of cannon.

A member of the expedition from Quincy, writing of his visit to Nauvoo to the *Quincy Whig*, says:

"I left Quincy on the glorious Fourth, on

board the splendid steamer *Annawan*, Captain Whitney, in company with a large number of ladies and gentlemen of this city, on a pleasure excursion to the far-famed city of Nauvoo. The kindness of the officers of the boat and the hearty welcome received from the citizens of Nauvoo on our arrival there, induced me to return to each and all of them my own and the thanks of every passenger on board the *Annawan*, as I am sure all alike feel grateful for the pleasure there experienced. We left Quincy at half-past eight, and reached Nauvoo at about two o'clock p. m., where we received an invitation from the Prophet to attend the delivering of an oration, which was accepted; and two companies of the Legion were sent to escort us to the Grove (on the hill near the Temple), where the oration was to be delivered. When we reached the brow of the hill, we received a salute from the artillery there stationed, and proceeded on to the Grove, where we were welcomed in a cordial and happy manner by the Prophet and his people.

"The large concourse of people, assembled to celebrate the day which gave birth to American independence, convinced me that the Mormons have been most grossly slandered, and that they respect, cherish and love the free institutions of our country, and appreciate the sacrifices and bloodshed of those patriots who established them. I never saw a more orderly, gentlemanly, and hospitable people than the Mormons, nor a more interesting population, as the stirring appearance of their city indicates. Nauvoo is destined to be, under the influence and enterprise of such citizens as it now contains, and her natural advantages, a populous, wealthy, and manufacturing city.

"The services of the day were opened by a chaste and appropriate prayer by an Elder whose name I do not know, which was followed by rich strains of vocal and instrumental music. Then followed the oration, which was an elegant, eloquent and pathetic one, as much so as I ever heard on a similar occasion.

"We started home about six o'clock, all evidently much pleased with Nauvoo, and gratified by the kind reception of her citizens.

A CITIZEN OF QUINCY."

After Joseph's arrest near Dixon, Ill., and his subsequent trial and acquittal by the municipal court of Nauvoo (see pages 516-526), nothing of importance transpired at Nauvoo

until Aug. 7, 1843, when the general election for State officers took place. On that occasion the Saints generally voted the Democratic ticket, but Joseph himself, in fulfilment of a pledge he had formerly made to Cyrus H. Walker, who was the Whig candidate for representative to Congress, voted the Whig ticket.

The fact that the Democrats gained the victory by "Mormon" votes, stirred up to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, Robert D. Foster, who had been elected school commissioner, and George W. Thatcher, who had been elected clerk of the commissioner's court for the county, appeared at the court-house in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the "Mormons" were permitted to qualify.

But they qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-Mormon meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, Aug. 19, 1843, to protest against the "Mormons" holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled at the appointed time, and organized with a chairman (Major Reuben Graves) and a secretary (W. D. Abernethy). A committee of nine was appointed to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to meet again on the 6th of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the Saints in general, and particularly against Joseph Smith, in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting,

held in Carthage, Sept. 6, 1843, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a nation. They resolved that, from recent movements among the "Mormons," there were indications that they were unwilling to submit to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the "Mormons" should inflict upon them in the future—of course. They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a *posse* and take him, if the authorities of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them, they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the "Mormons" for their influence, and finally

"Resolved that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original inherent rights of self-defense."

One of the principal movers in these meetings was Walter Bagby, the county collector, with whom Joseph had had some difficulty in relation to the payment of taxes. In the dispute that arose Bagby told Joseph he lied, and for the insult Joseph struck him several times, and would doubtless have thrashed him soundly but for the interference of Daniel H. Wells. From that time on, Bagby became the relentless enemy of Joseph and the inspirer of these meetings at Carthage; and afterwards

went to Missouri where he conferred with the Prophet's old enemies, and brought about that concerted action between the Missourians and the anti-Mormons of Illinois, which resulted finally in the Prophet's assassination.

Later on in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the Saints who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of violence were frequent. In December, 1843, a member of the Church, living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi River to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clarke County, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by writ of *habeas corpus*, and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

The air was also filled with wild rumors as to what the Missourians were intending to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into Joseph's hands, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a season it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Joseph was careful to keep Governor Ford informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon his people, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians respecting an attack, and went so far as to tender the services of the Legion to repel it, should it occur. Governor

Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the Legion, or of the State militia, to be ready for such an assault.

A petition signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo, asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on those old charges, was also presented to the executive, but the governor refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In the summer of 1843 great improvements were made in Nauvoo. Fine residences now adorned both the high and low lands upon which it stood, and a number of public buildings were in course of erection, among which was the Masonic Temple, a substantial three-story brick building, on Main Street. The corner stones of that historic building, which is still standing, were laid June 24, 1843; it was dedicated April 5, 1844. An arsenal was also built at a convenient place near the Temple, for the accomodation of the Legion.

During the winter of 1843-44 another important event began to take shape. As the time of the Presidential Election was approaching the probable candidates for the office began to be discussed. It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to work for it. A Colonel Frierson of Quincy, the po-

litical friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the Saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to brother Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a representative from South Carolina to the United States Congress, and also a political friend of Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to Congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the Saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate to Brother Heywood, and through him to the citizens of Nauvoo that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.

In November, 1843, Colonel Frier-son went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to Congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers, but it probably never reached the House of Representatives.

This incident, however, suggested to the brethren the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the Presidency—five in number, viz.,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren; and ascertain what policy they would adopt respecting the Saints, and redressing the wrongs done them by Missouri. Only two out of the number, however, gave a reply, namely, Calhoun and Clay. (See pages 534-537.)

At a political meeting held in Nauvoo Jan. 29, 1844, Joseph Smith was nominated a candidate for the Presidency of the United States (see page 540), which nomination was ratified at a State convention held at Nauvoo,

May 17, 1844, together with Joseph's "Views and Powers of the Policy of the Government of the United States." (See page 548.) This convention also put in nomination Sidney Rigdon for Vice President and passed a series of resolutions, inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government. One of the resolutions adopted on that occasion read as follows:

"Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the President of the United States at the ensuing election."

Arrangements were entered into, to hold a national convention in New York on the 13th of July following, and preparations made for an active campaign in favor of the Prophet nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, fell pierced by assassins' bullets, the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course Joseph had no hope that he would be elected to the Presidency, but by becoming a candidate, he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good of the nation, and, at the same time, avoid the wrath of the political parties in the State of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the ensuing election; for whenever they voted with one of those parties the other became enraged and *vice versa*.

As an evidence that Joseph entertained no thought of success in his candidacy for the office of chief executive, we may mention the fact,

that during the time that vigorous preparations were being made for the Presidential canvass, he was setting on foot a scheme for taking the body of the Church into the west to settle Oregon. (See page 541.)

Subsequently a memorial was drawn up by Joseph, asking Congress to pass an enactment, authorizing him to raise a company for the purpose of establishing colonies in the unsettled section of country in the Far West, known under the general name of Oregon. At that time there was no particular government existing in the vast region to which the name of Oregon and California was given. Nor was it certain whether it would fall into the possession of England or the United States, as the northern boundary line question was then unsettled, and England and the United States held the country by a treaty of joint occupancy. As the Prophet preferred having an assurance of protection from the government on his enterprise, he asked Congress to pass the act before alluded to.

Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and through the influence of Joseph P. Hoge, representative to Congress from the district in which Nauvoo was included, John J. Hardin and Stephen A. Douglass succeeded in approaching a number of members of Congress, but received small encouragement, as congressmen then, as now, were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of the Prophet, they all

concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government would protect them. Stephen A. Douglass remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in Congress, to go to the West.

An event took place in the House of Representatives before the Prophet's petition was introduced, which put at rest all hopes of Congress doing anything at that time in relation to the Oregon Territory. A resolution was introduced to give Great Britain notice, that the treaty of joint occupancy of that country was at an end, and was promptly voted down. And that was virtually serving public notice that the Oregon question was not to be reopened by Congress, at least not until the conclusion of the Presidential election.

Altogether the winter of 1843-44 was big with events affecting the destinies of Nauvoo and her citizens, for there was set on foot several conspiracies, which culminated in the destruction of the city. Men who stood nearest to the Prophet Joseph, and who were bound in honor to defend his life, combined together in secret covenant for his overthrow.

Owing to the constant efforts of the Prophet's enemies in Missouri, to capture him and drag him to that State, where he might be murdered with impunity, the force of police in Nauvoo in January, 1844, was increased by the appointment of forty nightguards to patrol the city. These made it less convenient for the conspirators, who worked, as men ever do when engaged in such business, in the darkness. The nightguards several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a man-

ner, which, to say the least, was suspicious, and soon complaints were made by these same parties that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night-watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that Joseph had appointed them for the purpose of intimidation.

“In the spring of 1844,” writes B. H. Roberts, “the Prophet was apprized by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter being in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other leading men in the Church; among them the Prophet’s brother Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going, conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his advice, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three times, and brought to the Prophet a report of what they had witnessed. * * *

“In addition to the testimonies of these young men, was that of M. G. Eaton, who expressed a willingness to make affidavit that there was a plot laid to kill the Prophet and others, and would give the names of those who had concocted it. There was also one A. B. Williams who said the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, at the time a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that such a plot as we have spoken of existed. In their statements they name as leaders of the movement, Chauncy L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson and William and Wilson Law. These

names correspond with those given by the young men before alluded to, except that they also name Austin Cowles, a member of the High Council, as one of the active and leading conspirators.

“These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as secret opposition to the leading Church authorities; and on the 18th of April, 1844, a number of them were excommunicated for unchristianlike conduct.

“A sickly effort was made by these apostates to organize a church after the pattern of the true Church, by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc., but it failed miserably, as their following in Nauvoo was insignificant. (See page 547.) These men were desperately wicked, in addition to gross licentiousness they were guilty of theft and of counterfeiting money; brought much reproach upon the city of Nauvoo, since these things were traced to within her borders, and that fact went far towards undoing her reputation abroad. But though these men at one time, and indeed up to the time of their excommunication, held high official positions in the Church and the city, their wickedness was not sustained either by the Church laws or by the members of the Church, or citizens of Nauvoo. It was known that there existed a band of desperate men within the city, and these parties were suspected, but it required some time to obtain proof sufficiently positive to act upon; and where the counterfeiting was done was never learned.

“The mask having at last fallen from the faces of these men, they

joined with the avowed enemies of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which, but a short time before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which they were generally appealed to the circuit courts, and followed by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In all these cases the power of the municipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and the city authorities released, as the actions were malicious, and without sufficient cause on which to base the complaints.

“Thus the affairs of Nauvoo became more and more complicated, and the bitterness was constantly increasing. At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in the prospectus it published to agitate for the destruction of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the Saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that existed within the city, they intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo—fearless of whose particular case the facts might apply to. The proprietors of the paper were the band of conspirators already named, and Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

“The first, and indeed the only

number of the *Expositor*, was published on the 7th of June, 1844, and contained a most scandalous attack upon the most respectable citizens of Nauvoo. It at once filled the entire city with indignation, and the city council immediately took into consideration what would be the best method of dealing with it. The result of the council's meditations was this: Blackstone declared a libelous press a nuisance; the city charter gave to the city authorities the power to declare what should be considered a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same; therefore it was

“Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors*, which may be or exist, in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct.

“On receiving this order the mayor issued instructions to the city marshal to destroy the press without delay, and at the same time gave orders to Jonathan Dunham, acting major-general of the Nauvoo Legion, to assist the marshal with the Legion, if called upon to do so.

“The marshal with a small force of men appeared before the *Expositor* printing establishment, informed one or more of the proprietors of the character of his mission, and demanded entrance into the building to carry out his instructions from the mayor. This was denied and the door locked; whereupon the marshal broke in the door, carried out the press, broke it in the street, pried the type and burned all the papers found in the office, and then reported to the mayor, who sent an account of these proceedings to the governor of the State.

“This act enraged the conspirators to a higher pitch of desperation. They set fire to their buildings and then fled to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, with the lie in their mouths that their lives were in danger in Nauvoo, and that they were driven away from their homes. Fortunately the police discovered the flames started by these men in time to extinguish them, so that they failed to have the smoking ruins of their own houses to support their story; but their misrepresentations spread like wild-fire and inflamed the public mind, already blinded with prejudice against the Saints, to a point which made violence almost certain.

“Francis M. Higbee made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, against Joseph Smith and all the members of the Nauvoo city council for riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The warrant issued by the justice was served by Constable Bettisworth upon Joseph June 12, 1844, and required him and the others named in the warrant to be taken before the justice issuing the warrant, ‘or some other justice of the peace.’ Joseph called the attention of the constable to this clause in the writ, and expressed a willingness to go before Esquire Johnson, or any other justice of the peace in Nauvoo. But Bettisworth was determined to take Joseph to Carthage before justice Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph was equally determined not to go, and petitioned the municipal court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which was granted, and under it the prisoner was honorably discharged. The other parties mentioned in the writ followed his ex-

ample and they too were likewise discharged.

“Meantime indignation meetings were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards in Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors, for more than two years, to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the Saints, had now a popular war cry—‘unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press.’ ‘The law had ceased to be a protection to their lives or property! A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual.’ Therefore these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, utterly exterminate the wicked and abominable ‘Mormon’ leaders, the authors of their troubles.

“Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the ‘tools of the Prophet, to leave immediately, on pain of instant vengeance.’ And it was further recommended that the adherents of Smith, as a body, be ‘driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary, for the mob’s protection, of his adherents;’ and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself.

“The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast June 13, 1844, when the news arrived of the

failure of Constable Bettisworth to drag the Prophet into their midst. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the 'riot' in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two discreet citizens were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not to interfere with the resolutions before passed; active preparations for the extermination of the 'Mormons' were to be continued.

"The authorities at Nauvoo also dispatched trusty messengers to the governor, with truthful accounts of their proceedings, both as regards the destruction of the press and their action in refusing to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Carthage, that he might not be misled by a false representation of the case, or influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the Saints.

"Both parties then appealed to the executive of the State: the mob for assistance to carry out their murderous designs, and to give their proceedings a coloring of lawful authority; and the citizens of Nauvoo for protection against the combinations of their avowed enemies bent upon, and publicly pledged to their extermination.

"Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw and other localities began active operations by sending their committees to the settlements of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one

of three propositions: First, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him: or second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo: or third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the fuss was over. Usually a few days were given the people to consider these propositions, which were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet, to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist the mob forces, and when they were not strong enough retreat to Nauvoo.

"Besides the reports which came to Nauvoo from the Saints who were threatened, the air was filled with rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand.

"Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, from which the Saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were going over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-Mormons in and around Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob, is quite certain; and it is also known that Walter Bagby, the tax collector for Hancock County, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-Mormon agent, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the Saints, and those of like ilk in Illinois.

"While these active, hostile preparations were being made for his destruction, and the extermination of

his people, those at all acquainted with the temperament of the Prophet Joseph, might well know that he was not idle. He kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the governor, whom he petitioned to come to Nauvoo, and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the President of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

“Nor was Joseph and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock County was located, advised him to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, of Carthage, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised the Prophet to go to Carthage, but that he emphatically refused to do. He and all others named in Justice Morrison’s warrant, however, went before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace in Nauvoo; had a thorough investigation and were acquitted June 17, 1844.

“In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, June 16, 1844, at which John Taylor was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the apostates, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay ex-

citement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with riot and the violation of law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this court to allay excitement, the mob motioned that a committee wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.

“These pacific measures appearing to have little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law June 18th; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph in person took command of it. He mounted an unfinished frame building near the Mansion, and addressed the Legion and the people for about an hour and a half; during which time he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issue that confronted them. * * *
(See page 553.)

“Two days later Joseph requested his brother Hyrum to take his family and go with them to Cincinnati. But Hyrum demurred and said, ‘Joseph, I can’t leave you!’ Joseph, turning to a number of brethren present, said: ‘I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood, and I will stay with you and see it out.’ But Hyrum Smith was not the kind of man to leave his brother now that the hour of his severest trial had come upon him. His noble nature revolted at the thought, and though the Spirit

had doubtless whispered Joseph that his life and that of Hyrum's would be sacrificed in the impending crisis, his pathetic words, 'Joseph, I can't leave you!' bears testimony to the nobility of the soul that uttered them, and is a witness to the strength of those bonds of love that bound him to his younger brother.

"On the 20th, also, Joseph wrote to the Twelve Apostles, who were on mission, and requested them to return to Nauvoo, as likewise all the Elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the Saints; and thus every effort was being put forth by the people of Nauvoo to resist oppression and maintain their rights.

"In the midst of these preparations, a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well informed and discreet persons be sent to him at Carthage, where he had established for the time his headquarters. This request of the governor's was gladly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent their version of the situation, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

"These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo found the governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters and Higbees, besides others living at Warsaw and Car-

thage. The only audience given to Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were frequently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

"After the governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to the mayor, Joseph Smith, in which he charged that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and violated the constitution in several particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of *habeas corpus*. He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that Joseph was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock County, except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, bent upon his destruction; and since the warrant was made returnable to the magistrate who issued it, or any other justice in the county, the Prophet expressed a willingness to go before any other justice, but very properly refused to go to Carthage; and was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abating the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with a riot had appeared before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of

the peace and a non-Mormon, and had an investigation and were acquitted—yet the governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation. He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts, and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose authority he claimed had been resisted. ‘Nothing short of this,’ he added, ‘can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people.’ Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called his attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing Joseph, and that to ensure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as governor, and that of the State to protect those who should go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to Joseph.

“The conduct of the governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary demands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. Joseph, however, wrote a courteous

reply, corrected the governor’s errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right. * * * (See page 557.)

“On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards and Messrs Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with the governor, it was decided that Joseph should proceed to Washington and lay the case before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in the letter above referred to. That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting was abandoned; as Joseph received an inspiration to go to the West.” (See page 557.)

This was between 9 and 10 o’clock on the night of the 22nd of June, 1844. Preparations were at once entered into to carry out this impression of the Spirit, and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards over the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for “the great basin in the Rocky Mountains.” But through the strong persuasions of his wife Emma and others, Joseph returned to Nauvoo the next day (June 23rd), and went to Carthage on the 24th to give himself up to the governor, that official having pledged his honor and that of the State that he should be protected. The other brethren who were accused of riot in destroying the *Expositor* press, etc., also went to Carthage to stand another trial. Having arrived there Joseph and Hyrum, contrary to law,

were remanded to prison and placed in the Carthage jail, where they were cruelly murdered in the afternoon of June 27, 1844. (See page 559-572.)

On the day of the murder Governor Ford had gone to Nauvoo to deliver a speech, and taken with him those of his troops who were most friendly to the Saints, thus leaving the prisoners to their fate. While the governor in his speech was insulting the citizens at Nauvoo, by assuming that all their worst enemies had said of them was true, and threatened them with dire calamities, the blood of the best men of the Nineteenth Century was being spilt in Carthage. The governor afterwards said that the people at Nauvoo manifested some impatience and anger, when he uttered his threats, and well they might, for baser falsehoods were never put in circulation to slander a people.

The governor was invited to stay all night, but he refused and left the city about 6:30 in the evening for Carthage, his escort riding with full speed up Main Street and performing the sword exercise, passed the Temple, and so left the city.

Three miles out he met George D. Grant and David Bettisworth, riding into Nauvoo with the sad news of the death of the Prophet. The governor took them back with him to Grant's house, 1½ miles east of Carthage, that the news might not reach Nauvoo until he had time to have the county records removed from the court-house, and warn the people of Carthage to flee, as he expected an immediate attack from the Nauvoo Legion, and that the whole country would be laid waste.

After being taken back to Carthage George D. Grant mounted an-

other horse and rode that night with the news to Nauvoo.

On the arrival of Governor Ford at Carthage, the following note was addressed to Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-General Dunham of the Nauvoo Legion, dated 12 o'clock at night June 27th, Hamilton Tavern, Carthage:

"The governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken. I say to all citizens of Nauvoo—My brethren be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every assistance possible—has sent orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, will prepare to move the hodies as soon as possible.

"The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the 'Mormons' will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the 'Mormons' will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still; be patient, only let such friends as choose come here to see the hodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS."

To this note, which was also signed by John Taylor and Samuel H. Smith, Governor Ford added a postscript, telling the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves until the necessary protection could be furnished. The governor then, about 1 o'clock in the morning, went out on the public square and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the "Mormons" would be so exasperated that they would burn the town. Upon this the people fled in all directions, and the governor and his *posse* took flight in the direction of Quincy.

The next day (June 28th) the bodies of the murdered men were taken to Nauvoo. (See page 573.) Neither tongue nor pen can ever de-

scribe the scene of sorrow and lamentation which was there beheld. The love of these men for the Saints was unbounded, and it had begotten in the people an affection for them that was equally dear and unselfish. They lived in the hearts of the Saints, and thousands would have laid down their lives willingly to have saved theirs.

Arriving at the Mansion the bodies were taken into it to be prepared for burial; and Elder Willard Richards and others addressed some eight or ten thousand of the people in the open air. The Saints were advised to keep peace. Elder Richards stated that he had pledged his honor and his life for their conduct. When the multitude heard that, notwithstanding the sense of outraged justice under which they labored, and this cruel invasion of the rights of liberty and life—in the very midst of their grief and excitement, with the means in their right hands to wreck a terrible vengeance, they voted to a man to trust to the law to deal with these assassins; and if that failed them, they would call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs! History records few actions so sublime as this; and it stands to this day a testimony of the devotion of the Latter-day Saints to law and order, the like of which is not paralleled in the history of our country, if in the world.

Great uneasiness prevailed among the people outside of Nauvoo, respecting the intentions of the Saints. There had been so many falsehoods circulated about acts of violence which had been committed by them, that many supposed they would now seek revenge. They knew that the cold-blooded murder of Joseph and

Hyrum while they were unarmed prisoners, relying upon the pledged honor of the governor and the pledged faith of the State, was a sufficient provocation to enrage any people holding the relationship which the Saints did to the Prophet and Patriarch, and to cause them to take the law in their own hands. Besides, many of those who felt this uneasiness were either members of the mob, or guilty of giving aid and comfort to the mob, and in their secret souls they felt that they merited punishment.

On the 1st of July, two gentlemen—A. Jonas and Hart Fellows—arrived at Nauvoo, with a message from Governor Ford to the city council. Their instructions from the governor were:

“Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas are requested to proceed by the first boat to Nauvoo, and ascertain what is the feeling, disposition and determination of the people there, in reference to the late disturbances, ascertain whether any of them propose in any manner to avenge themselves, whether any threats have been used, and what is proposed generally to be done by them.”

These men were also requested to return to Warsaw and learn the state of feeling there and whether the militia, which was assembled there, intended to make an attack upon Nauvoo.

The city council of Nauvoo met, and, speaking for the people, passed the following resolutions:

“Resolved, For the purpose of ensuring peace, and promoting the welfare of the county of Hancock and surrounding country, that we will rigidly sustain the laws and the governor of the State, so long as they, and he, sustain us in all our constitutional rights.

“Resolved, secondly, That, to carry the foregoing resolutions into complete effect, inasmuch as the governor has taken from us the public arms, we solicit of him to do the same with all the rest of the public arms of the State.

“Resolved, thirdly, To further secure the peace, friendship and happiness of the people, and allay the excitement that now exists, we will reprobate private revenge on the assassins of General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith by any of the Latter-day Saints. That instead of ‘an appeal to arms,’ we appeal to the majesty of the law, and will be content with whatever judgment it shall award; and should the law fail, we leave the matter with God.

“Resolved, unanimously, That this city council pledge themselves for the city of Nauvoo, that no aggressions by the citizens of said city shall be made on the citizens of the surrounding country, but we invite them, as friends and neighbors, to use the Savior’s golden rule, and ‘do unto others as they would have others do unto them,’ and we will do likewise.

“Resolved, lastly, That we highly approve of the present public pacific course of the governor to allay excitement and restore peace among the citizens of the country; and while he does so, and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law, until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage, or any other place, for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him, and the law, by all honorable means.”

A copy of the foregoing resolutions was inclosed in a letter to the messengers of the governor, and they were invited to attend a public meeting of the citizens which was to be held that afternoon (July 1st) near the Temple.

The meeting was held, and was addressed by Mr. Jonas and others; the resolutions of the city council were read, all of which were endorsed by the people. Votes of thanks were also passed by the meeting to several gentlemen who had manifested friendly feelings and a disposition to see justice done to the Saints.

On the 2nd of July, Elder John Taylor was brought home in his wounded condition from Carthage. His own account of his removal from Carthage to Nauvoo is so graphic

and interesting, that we make the following extract from it:

“Many of the mob came around and treated me with apparent respect, and the officers and people generally looked upon me as a hostage, and feared that my removal would be the signal for the rising of the ‘Mormons.’ I do not remember the time that I stayed at Carthage, but I think three or four days after the murder, when Brother Marks with a carriage, Brother James Allred with a wagon, Dr. Ells, and a number of others on horseback, came for the purpose of taking me to Nauvoo. I was very weak at the time, occasioned by the loss of blood and the great discharge of my wounds, so that when my wife asked me if I could talk, I could barely whisper ‘No.’ Quite a discussion arose as to the propriety of my removal, physicians and people of Carthage protesting that it would be my death, while my friends were anxious for my removal if possible.

“I suppose the former were actuated by the above named desire to keep me. Colonel Jonas was, I believe, sincere; he had acted as a friend all the time, and he told my wife she ought to persuade me not to go, for he did not believe I had strength enough to reach Nauvoo. It was finally agreed, however, that I should go: but as it was thought that I could not stand riding in a wagon or carriage, they prepared a litter for me; I was carried down stairs and put on it. A number of men assisted to carry me, some of whom had been engaged in the mob. As soon as I got down stairs I felt much better and strengthened, so that I could talk; I suppose the effect of the fresh air.

“When we had got near the outside of the town, I remembered some woods that we had to go through, and telling a person near to call on Dr. Ells, who was riding a very good horse, I said, ‘Doctor, I perceive that the people are getting fatigued with carrying me; a number of ‘Mormons’ live about two or three miles from here, near our route; will you ride to their settlement as quietly as possible, and have them come out and meet us?’ He started off on a gallop immediately. My object in this was to obtain protection in case of an attack, rather than to obtain help to carry me.

“Very soon after the men from Carthage made one excuse after another, until they had all left, and I felt glad to get rid of them. I found that the tramping of those carrying me produced violent pain, and a sleigh was produced and attached to the

hind end of Brother James Allred's wagon, a bed placed upon it, and I propped up on the bed. My wife rode with me, applying ice and ice-water to my wounds. As the sleigh was dragged over the grass on the prairie, which was quite tall, it moved very easily and gave me very little pain.

"When I got within five or six miles of Nauvoo, the brethren commenced to meet me from the city, and they increased in number as we drew nearer, until there was a very large company of people, of all ages and both sexes, principally, however, of men.

"For some time there had been almost incessant rain, so that in many low places in the prairie it was from one to three feet deep in water, and at such places the brethren whom we met took hold of the sleigh, lifted it, and carried it over the water: and when we arrived in the neighborhood of the city, where the roads were excessively muddy and bad, the brethren tore down the fences, and we passed through the fields.

"Never shall I forget the difference of feeling that I experienced between the place that I had left and the one that I had now arrived at. I had left a lot of reckless, bloodthirsty murderers, and had come to the city of the Saints, the people of the living God, friends of truth and righteousness, thousands of whom stood with warm, true hearts to offer their friendship and services, and to welcome my return. It is true it was a painful scene, and brought sorrowful remembrances to mind, but to me it caused a thrill of joy to find myself once more in the bosom of my friends, and to meet with the cordial welcome of true, honest hearts. What was very remarkable, I found myself very much better after my arrival at Nauvoo than I was when I started on my journey, although I had traveled eighteen miles."

At this time the following address was published in the *Times and Seasons*:

"TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

"Deeply impressed for the welfare of all, while mourning the great loss of President Joseph Smith, our 'Prophet and Seer,' and President Hyrum Smith, our 'Patriarch,' we have considered the occasion demanded of us a word of consolation.

"As has been the case in all ages, these Saints have fallen martyrs for the truth's sake, and their escape from the persecution of a wicked world, in blood to bliss, only strengthens our faith, and confirms our religion as pure and holy.

"We, therefore, as servants of the Most High God, having the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the book of Doctrine and Covenants, together with thousands of witnesses, for Jesus Christ, would beseech the Latter-day Saints, in Nauvoo and elsewhere, to hold fast to the faith that has been delivered to them in the last days, abiding in the perfect law of the Gospel.

"Be peaceable, quiet citizens, doing the works of righteousness, and as soon as the Twelve and other authorities can assemble, or a majority of them, the onward course to the great gathering of Israel, and the final consummation of the dispensation of the fulness of times will be pointed out, so that the murder of Abel, the assassination of hundreds, the righteous blood of all the holy Prophets, from Abel to Joseph, sprinkled with the best blood of the Son of God, as the crimson sign of remission, only carries conviction to the bosoms of all intelligent beings, that the cause is just and will continue; and blessed are they that hold out faithful to the end, while apostates, consenting to the shedding of innocent blood, have no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come.

"Union is peace, brethren, and eternal life is the greatest gift of God. Rejoice, then, that you are found worthy to live and die for God. Men may kill the body, but they cannot hurt the soul, and wisdom shall be justified of her children. Amen.

W. W. PHELPS,
W. RICHARDS,
JOHN TAYLOR."

Elder George J. Adams had been appointed to bear letters and other documents to those of the Twelve Apostles who were in the East, and to inform them of the massacre of the Prophet and Patriarch. He had plenty of means to accomplish his journey: but he failed to perform this mission. Elder Jedediah M. Grant, who also left Nauvoo about the same time, did not tarry till he found them and carried them the news. This incident illustrates the difference in the characters and fate of the two men. Adams became an apostate, and his subsequent career has been disgraceful. Jedediah M. Grant was a faithful, true man; he

was subsequently ordained one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies, and at the time of his death he was President Brigham Young's second Counselor.

Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas, the governor's commissioners, after leaving Nauvoo, went to Carthage, and from there to Warsaw. They were joined at the latter town by Colonel John Wood, the mayor of Quincy, and other gentlemen, who had the object of their visit before the people of Warsaw, and Mr. Jonas made a speech to them in a public meeting which had been called. He requested them to say whether they would support Governor Ford in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution, and they unanimously refused to give the pledge. The same sentiment was expressed afterwards to the commissioners by O. C. Skinner, a prominent lawyer, who professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Hancock County.

"If any person" writes George Q. Cannon, "had wished to know which were right and which were wrong—the 'Mormons,' or their enemies—in the troubles which existed in Hancock County, the proceedings at the meetings attended by the commissioners at Nauvoo and at Warsaw would have given him the necessary evidence.

"In the presence of the great and terrible wrongs which they had endured, and which were well calculated to exasperate and drive them to the commission of acts of violence, the Latter-day Saints, with a high regard for the rights of their fellow-citizens, and a desire to maintain peace, had agreed to sustain the governor and the laws in all righteous-

ness, to take no private revenge and leave their cause with God.

"The people of Carthage and Warsaw had been the aggressors in every instance; they had formed themselves into mobs, had threatened the lives of the Saints, and had committed foul and bloody murder, and now refused to sustain the governor in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution. This was in keeping with all their previous conduct. They had not been disturbed in the least of their rights; they did as they pleased: if a Latter-day Saint said or did anything that they thought interfered in the least with them, they raised a great outcry.

"While the Saints were peaceably building houses, making gardens, planting orchards, opening farms and rearing a beautiful city, strictly attending to their own business, these men, who now openly refused to sustain the governor and the laws, were making speeches, writing bitter articles, banding themselves together as mobs, and doing all in their power to create excitement in the country against the Saints and to bring about their destruction. By their refusal to meet the wishes of the governor's commissioners, they plainly exhibited the spirit of mobocracy which filled them.

"What they wanted, and what they seemed determined to have, was the entire removal of the Saints from Hancock County. Not satisfied with killing Joseph and Hyrum, they were eager for more victims. They had tasted blood, and their appetite was awakened, and like wolves, they panted for more.

"They said either the 'Mormons' or, as they styled themselves, 'the citizens,' must leave the county, and

that sooner or later one must go, even if force was necessary to accomplish it. Such a result as their leaving the county never entered their minds; for they knew very well that the Saints would never attempt to force them away. They fully calculated upon the 'Mormons' going, even if they had to use violence to drive them out. They were 'the citizens,' the Saints were only the 'Mormons.'

"They sent a committee to Governor Ford, to inform him of their fixed conviction that it was necessary that one of the parties should leave the county, and desired him to decide which should go. This kind of talk was barefaced deception, yet it deceived nobody. It was well known that the design of these men was to drive the Saints from their homes and lands, and that, while they lived, they would never be content until they had accomplished this. But this committee's speech puzzled poor Ford. He told them that it was not for him to decide such a question. He could not order any body of citizens, he said, whether 'Mormons' or anti-Mormons, out of the county or State.

"With such a reply as this he was doubtless very glad to get them away. Had he been a man of nerve, and disposed to do right, he would have given them a reply which they would probably have respected more than they did this. But they knew very well he was afraid of them, that he dared not do anything to interfere with them, and they despised him, and acted as though he was not in existence, except when it suited their purposes to use him.

"In a letter which Governor Ford wrote about this time, and sent to

Nauvoo, he urged upon the people the necessity of being passive and unresisting, holding over their heads the terrors of mob violence, if they did not hold their peace. He then proceeded to tell what he was pleased to call 'the naked truth.' He declared it was not with any design of insulting their misfortunes, but 'in a pure spirit of friendly concern for the peace and safety of all who repose under the shade of our political fig tree.' Said he:

"The naked truth then is, that most well-informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead. The disapproval is most unusually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the laws and a horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart. The unfortunate victims of this assassination were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their death has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken. Most that is said on the subject is merely from the teeth out; and your people may depend on the fact, that public feeling is now, at this time, as thoroughly against them as it has ever been.'

"Governor Ford ought to be good authority for a statement of this kind, and we quote it here to show how wide-spread was the guiltiness of the people in approving of the shedding of that innocent blood which yet stains the floor of Carthage Jail and the soil of the State of Illinois. In this letter he acknowledged that the Saints had behaved well, much better than could have been expected under the circumstances; but if a mob should come against them, he could not protect them.

"He admitted that if he called

upon the 'Mormons' themselves, he would have a reliable force; but if he should do so, he thought it would lead to civil war, in which Nauvoo might be utterly destroyed. 'You may be disposed to ask,' said he, 'What use is there for law and government, if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our constitutions.'

"Strange views these, for a man who wished to be thought a statesman to entertain of the authority of the government! Of what value would law and government be were such views to prevail among rulers? The minority, if unpopular, would be more likely to receive justice from a band of Indians than from a nation where governors held such opinions and acted upon them."

July 30, 1844, Samuel H. Smith, a younger brother of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, died in Nauvoo. (See pages 615-621.)

Before the President of the Twelve Apostles and the majority of the quorum could return to Nauvoo, an anxiety began to be exhibited by certain parties to arrange affairs to suit themselves. Among the first of these attempts was that of William Marks, who was President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was eager to have a trustee-in-trust appointed to take charge of affairs; others were anxious to have the Church reorganized, and no doubt wanted to appoint a President; but Doctor Willard Richards, Bishop N. K. Whitney and other staunch men were opposed to any appointments or other business of that character being attended to before the Twelve Apostles returned from the East.

Brother George A. Smith, who,

with other Elders, was laboring in Michigan at the time the news came to them of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum, reached Nauvoo on the night of the 28th of July. Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived from his mission on the 10th inst., and the Elders from various parts of the States, having had the sad news of the death of the Prophet and Patriarch confirmed, began to arrive home. They seemed weighed down with gloom.

Aug. 3rd, Sidney Rigdon arrived from Pittsburg, and began immediately to lay his plans to have the Church accept him as President, or, as he called it, "guardian." Elders Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith and Willard Richards saw him after his arrival, and an appointment was arranged to meet together in council the next morning (Sunday Aug. 4th); but he failed to meet with them. He evidently had no wish to come face to face with them, as he would have done had his intentions been honest, upright and honorable; but he desired to get at the people, and shunned councils in which the Apostles and the men of authority and understanding met. He was not averse, however, to holding secret councils with a certain class of persons—those who had lost their faith, and were in the dark, and were ready for any delusion that might present itself. To these he related certain visions and revelations that he claimed to have had, and which they accepted as divine. But in endeavoring to hide his plans from the Apostles, he plainly showed his true character, and that he was playing an underhanded game.

Sunday Aug. 4, 1844, at 10 a. m. the people assembled at the grove, which was the usual place for hold-

ing the larger meetings in the summer time, and Sidney Rigdon preached from the words: "For my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." He related a vision which he said the Lord had shown him concerning the situation of the Church, and said there must be a guardian appointed to build the Church up to Joseph as he had begun it. He was the identical man, he said, that the ancient Prophets had sung about, wrote and rejoiced over, and he was sent to do the identical work that had been the theme of all the Prophets in every preceding generation. He told many more things equally foolish to the people, about the fate that awaited his enemies and the great things that he was to perform, adding that if it were not for two or three things which he knew, the Latter-day Saints would be utterly destroyed, and not a soul be left to tell the tale.

In alluding to this sermon afterwards, Brother Parley P. Pratt humorously said of himself, "I am the identical man the Prophets never sang nor wrote a word about."

In the afternoon Sidney Rigdon requested William Marks, President of the Stake, to give a notice out to the Saints that there would be a special meeting of the Church held at that place the ensuing Thursday, the 8th inst., for the purpose of choosing a "guardian." Marks was in sympathy with Rigdon, and it seemed to suit him exactly to have this meeting held, for, whether he aspired to position himself or not, he was very anxious to have a President and trustee-in-trust appointed without delay. Willard Richards proposed waiting till the Twelve

Apostles returned. Marks replied that President Rigdon wanted the meeting on Tuesday, but he had put it off till Thursday. He justified the haste in calling the meeting by saying that Rigdon was some distance from his family, which was in Pittsburgh, Penn., and he wanted to know if the Saints had anything for him to do; if not, he wanted to go on his way, for there was a people numbering thousands and tens of thousands who would receive him; he wanted to visit other branches of the Church around, but he had come to Nauvoo first.

"The design in this," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, "was very clear. The excuse was that Sidney Rigdon's family was in Pittsburgh, but what of that? To an Elder, in the path of duty, being at a distance from his family made no difference, if God required his labors. But Sidney Rigdon had only arrived in Nauvoo the day before, and yet he was in such haste that he could not wait a few days for the Twelve Apostles to arrive! The fact was he hoped to carry out his design before they could reach Nauvoo. It was no part of his scheme to wait for them.

"The leading Elders were all dissatisfied with the appointment of a meeting in so hurried a manner. The Twelve Apostles were soon expected home, they said, and to have a meeting before their arrival seemed like a plot to take advantage of the situation of the Saints. But God was watching over His people, and His providence was overruling all for good and for the accomplishment of His designs."

The following morning (Aug. 5th), those of the Twelve who were in Nauvoo and Bishop N. K. Whitney

called upon Sidney Rigdon. He agreed to meet them in council at Elder John Taylor's after dinner. He did so, and when he came in he paced the room, and told them they were used up and divided, the brethren were voting every way and the anti-Mormons had got them. "You cannot stay in the country," said he; "everything is in confusion, you can do nothing, you lack a great leader, you want a head, and unless you unite upon that head, you are blown to the four winds, the anti-Mormons will carry the election—a guardian must be appointed." This was the style of his conversation from the time he reached Nauvoo, predicting evil upon the people, extolling himself, and relating the great things he would accomplish, all with a design to induce the people to accept him as the leader of the Church.

These remarks stirred up Elder George A. Smith; he knew them to be incorrect and prompted by a wrong spirit. Said he: "Brethren, Elder Rigdon is entirely mistaken, there is no division; the brethren are united; the election will be unanimous, and the friends of law and order will be elected by a thousand majority. There is no occasion to be alarmed, President Rigdon is inspiring fears there are no grounds for."

The result proved that he was right and Rigdon was wrong. That election was one of the most unanimous ever held in Nauvoo. There were only five opposition votes polled in the city, and in the county the majority for the "law and order" candidates, as the men for whom the Saints voted were called, was over one thousand, and this, too, after the votes which the anti-Mormons

had smuggled in from other counties had been counted!

Before Rigdon left the council he said that he did not expect the people to choose a "guardian" on Thursday, but to have a prayer meeting, an interchange of thought and feeling, and warm up each other's hearts. The result showed how much confidence could be placed in his word, for when the day arrived, his proposition was not to have a prayer meeting, but to select and appoint a "guardian."

All this transpired at Nauvoo while President Young and the other absent members of the Twelve were making their way home from the Eastern States, where they were laboring in the ministry when the news of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum first reached them. In those days there were neither railways nor telegraph lines in the western States; hence it took a comparatively long time before they received what they considered reliable information of the foul crime, as all news had to be sent by private messengers or by tardy mails. And when finally they were convinced that the murder had been perpetrated it took several days before they could arrange their affairs and get together to commence the homeward journey. However, they got ready as quick as possible, and on July 24, 1844, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight left Boston for the West, and traveled by rail to Albany, New York. There they met Orson Pratt Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff in the evening of the same day, and in company with these brethren continued the journey to Buffalo, from whence they took steamer to Detroit and Chicago, arriving in the latter

town, Aug. 1st. From Chicago they traveled by stage 160 miles to Galeana, on the Mississippi River, and thence down the river by steamboat to Nauvoo, where they arrived Aug. 6th, at 8 o'clock p. m.

The return of the Twelve caused the Saints to rejoice, and this was not without cause; for in Nauvoo plotters were at work against the interest of the Church, and wolves in sheep's clothing were laying plans to obtain possession of the flock. The chief shepherds had been slain, and now false ones began to approach the flock, claiming it as their own. It was truly a critical time and the faithful Saints very much desired the presence of the Twelve Apostles, who now constituted the highest authority in the Church. Its President was a man of unflinching integrity and unwavering mind—a man who had never faltered. Its members were men of ripe experience and matured wisdom—familiar with the law of God, the authority of the Priesthood and the organization of the Church. If Rigdon's assumptions and claims were right, they were the men whose statement to that effect would have weight and carry with it confidence; if they were wrong—which was the prevailing opinion—they were the men to expose and handle him. The faithful Saints, knowing this, had therefore been earnestly praying for the Twelve, that they might have a safe and speedy journey to Nauvoo, where their presence was so much needed.

There was evidently a providence connected with having Rigdon's meeting postponed from Tuesday the 6th till Thursday the 8th of August. The hand of the Lord was in Wm. Marks' action in this relation, for

the Twelve arrived home on Tuesday evening. Thus once more there was a quorum of Apostles among the Saints; once more they had those who held the keys of the Priesthood and Presidency in their midst; and though gloom reigned in the city because of the death of the loved ones who had gone, yet the presence of the Twelve in their midst was the signal for a general feeling of relief among the faithful Saints, who, through this were inspired with fresh courage and strength. Also the Twelve felt thankful to God for having preserved their lives and led them safe and well back to their homes and the city of the Saints, where they once more could enjoy the society of their families and warm-hearted friends.

No time was lost by President Young and the other Apostles after their arrival at Nauvoo in finding out the true condition of affairs. After holding a council at the house of Elder Taylor, who was recovering from his wounds, a meeting was called of the Twelve Apostles, High Council and High Priests. They met on Aug. 7th at 4 p. m., the day after their arrival, and after the meeting was opened, President Brigham Young called upon Sidney Rigdon to make a statement concerning his message to the Saints, and the vision and revelation which he stated he had received. Rigdon arose and explained himself as follows:

"The object of my mission is to visit the Saints and offer myself to them as a guardian, I had a vision at Pittsburgh, June 27th. This was presented to my mind not as an open vision, but rather a continuation of the vision mentioned in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

"It was shown to me that this Church must be built up to Joseph, and that all the blessings we receive must come through

him. I have been ordained a spokesman to Joseph, and I must come to Nauvoo and see that the Church is governed in a proper manner. Joseph sustains the same relationship to this Church as he has always done. No man can be the successor of Joseph.

"The kingdom is to be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph; there must be revelation still. The martyred Prophet is still the head of this Church; every quorum should stand as you stood in your washings and consecrations. I have been consecrated a spokesman to Joseph, and I was commanded to speak for him. The Church is not disorganized though our head is gone.

"We may have a diversity of feelings on this matter. I have been called to be a spokesman unto Joseph, and I want to build up the Church unto him; and if the people want me to sustain this place, I want it upon the principle that every individual shall acknowledge it for himself.

"I propose to be a guardian to the people; in this I have discharged my duty and done what God has commanded me, and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not."

When he had finished, President Brigham Young made some remarks, a summary of which we herewith give as follows:

"I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject.

"I know there are those in our midst who will seek the lives of the Twelve as they did the lives of Joseph and Hyrum. We shall ordain others and give the fulness of the Priesthood, so that if we are killed the fulness of the Priesthood may remain.

"Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come.

"How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests.'"

According to the appointment of William Marks for a special meeting to be held on Thursday, Aug. 8th, the people assembled at the hour designated—10 o'clock a. m.—at the

grove, east of the Temple. There was a large attendance, everyone feeling a deep interest in the object for which the meeting had been called, namely, to choose a "guardian" or President and also a trustee-in-trust. The wind was unfavorable for speaking from the stand, and a wagon was, therefore, drawn to a position opposite the stand, that was thought to be suitable to speak from. Into this Sidney Rigdon, William Marks, George James and probably one or two more ascended. After the meeting was opened, Sidney Rigdon arose to speak. Usually he was a fluent, impassioned speaker, and excelled in oratory; but upon this occasion he was visibly embarrassed, and spoke slowly and in a very labored manner. Speaking nevertheless for an hour and a half, his hearers became exceedingly tired. The difficulty which he seemed to labor under in speaking could but have its effects, for the Latter-day Saints above all people in the world, are the most scrutinizing and critical when men who make great pretensions address them. They soon discern the spirit which possesses them, and quickly decide upon the weight there is to be attached to their utterances.

On this occasion they were particularly on the alert as the object of their gathering was of the greatest importance, but they saw nothing in Rigdon or in his remarks which gave them evidence that he was the man to lead them. They heard from him no voice or sound that marked him as the true shepherd.

As soon as Sidney Rigdon had finished his speech and had sat down, President Young arose and made a few remarks. He had taken a seat

in the stand after Sidney Rigdon had left it to occupy the wagon. The congregation wheeled around and faced him, turning their backs upon Sidney Rigdon. It was the first sound of Brigham's voice which the people had heard since he had gone east on his mission, and the effect upon them was most wonderful. None who were present on that occasion can ever forget the impression it made upon them! If Joseph had risen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could hardly have been more startling. It seemed to be the voice of Joseph himself; and not only that: but it seemed in the eyes of the people as though it was the very person of Joseph which stood before them.

"A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of," writes George Q. Cannon. "The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and then the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and, in some hearts probably, doubt and uncertainty; but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead.

"On that occasion President Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the Scriptures as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence,

seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph had been left for Brigham Young.
* * * When Elijah the Prophet was taken away, his mantle fell from him, and it was taken up by Elisha. He came to the river Jordan and he smote the waters, and they parted hither and thither. And when the sons of the Prophets saw him, they said, 'The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha,' and they paid him honor, and acknowledged him as their Prophet and leader. So with President Brigham Young upon this occasion; the people said one to another, 'The spirit of Joseph rests upon Brigham;' they knew that he was the man chosen to lead them, and they honored him accordingly. In his remarks to the congregation, he alluded to the fact that instead of himself and brethren finding them mourning the death of their great leader, as Israel did the departure of Moses, they found them holding meetings to choose his successor. But if they wished to obtain the mind and will of the Lord concerning this subject, why did they not meet according to the order, and have a general assembly of the several quorums, which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church, a tribunal from whose decisions there was no appeal? In a moment, the few words he spoke upon this subject threw a flood of light upon it. The Elders remembered then the proper order. He desired to see an assembly of the quorums at 2 o'clock that afternoon, every quorum in its place and order, and a general meeting also of the members.

"The tones of President Young's voice, his appearance, everything he said and the spirit which accompanied

his words, convinced the people that the leader whom God had selected to guide them stood before them. He was the master spirit on the occasion; and then, and afterwards in the following meeting, Sidney Rigdon was as ignorant as a child might be in the presence of a wise and experienced man. There was a power, an influence and a wisdom manifested with which he could not cope. Probably no few words that were ever uttered by a servant of God gave greater relief and satisfaction than those spoken that morning by President Young; for at no other period in the history of the Church had the people beheld such a crisis. As far as our observation went, (we were only a boy at the time,) the people were divided into three classes from the time of the death of Joseph up to this meeting of which we speak. One class felt clearly and understandingly that President Brigham Young was the man whose right it was to preside, he being the President of the Twelve Apostles, and that body being, through the death of Joseph and Hyrum, the presiding quorum in the Church. Another class were not quite clear as to who would be called to preside; but they felt very certain that Sidney Rigdon was not the man. They did not believe that God would choose a coward and a traitor to lead His people, to both of which characters they believed Rigdon had a claim. The third class, and we think its members were few, was composed of those who had no clear views one way or the other. They were undecided in their feelings.

“From this third class Rigdon afterwards drew away a few persons. They were ready to deny the faith

and to forsake the truth, and, of course, were fit subjects for him to deceive. But the Latter-day Saints are a people of too positive a character to furnish many members to a class like this third of which we speak. Their views upon all subjects which are brought to their attention, and in which they have an interest, are very decided, the most so probably of any other people on the earth, and especially so where they are faithful to the duties of their religion.

“With very few exceptions, then, the people returned to their homes from that meeting filled with great rejoicing. All uncertainty and anxiety were removed. They had heard the voice of the shepherd, and they knew it.”

In the afternoon the people were on the ground punctually at the time appointed. The several quorums were organized on and around the stand according to order. The following members of the quorum of the Twelve were present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. After the meeting was opened President Young arose and addressed the people. The Church had no short hand reporters in those days, but the following synopsis of his speech on that memorable occasion is found in the history of the Church:

“Attention all! This congregation makes me think of the days of King Benjamin, the multitude being so great that all could not hear. I request the brethren not to have any feelings for being convened this afternoon, for it is necessary; we want you all to be still and give attention, that all may hear. Let none complain because of the situation of the congregation, we will do the best we can.

*For the first time in my life, for the first

time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God in the Nineteenth Century, without a Prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation—Apostles whom God has called by revelation through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to hear off the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

“This people have hitherto walked by sight and not by faith. You have had the Prophet in your midst. Do you all understand? You have walked by sight and without much pleading to the Lord to know whether things were right or not.

“Heretofore you have had a Prophet as the mouth of the Lord to speak to you, but he has sealed his testimony with his blood, and now, for the first time, are you called to walk by faith, not by sight.

“The first position I take in behalf of the Twelve and the people is, to ask a few questions. I ask the Latter-day Saints: Do you, as individuals, at this time, want to choose a Prophet or a guardian? Inasmuch as our Prophet and Patriarch are taken from our midst, do you want some one to guard, to guide and lead you through this world into the kingdom of God or not? All that want some person to be a guardian or a Prophet, a spokesman or something else, signify it by raising the right hand. (No votes.)

“When I came to this stand I had peculiar feelings and impressions. The faces of this people seem to say, We want a shepherd to guide and lead us through this world. All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.

“If any man thinks he has influence among this people to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is power with the Apostles which will carry them off victorious through all the world, and build up and defend the Church and kingdom of God.

“What do the people want? I feel as though I wanted the privilege to weep and mourn for thirty days at least, then rise up, shake myself, and tell the people what the Lord wants of them; although my heart is too full of mourning to launch forth into business transactions and the organization of the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth in the discharge of those duties God has placed upon me.

“I now wish to speak of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If the Church is organized, and you want to know how it is organized, I will

tell you. I know your feelings—do you want me to tell your feelings?

“Here is President Rigdon, who was Counselor to Joseph. I ask, where are Joseph and Hyrum? They are gone beyond the veil; and if Elder Rigdon wants to act as his counselor, he must go beyond the veil where he is.

“There has been much said about President Rigdon being President of the Church, and leading the people, being the head, etc. Brother Rigdon has come sixteen hundred miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him; but I say unto you that the quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

“The Twelve are appointed by the finger of God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body, who have the keys of the Priesthood—the keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the world; this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of the Church.

“I do not know whether my enemies will take my life or not, and I do not care, for I want to be with the man I love.

“You cannot fill the office of a Prophet, Seer and Revelator: God must do this. You are like children without a father and sheep without a shepherd. You must not appoint any man at our head; if you should, the Twelve must ordain him. You cannot appoint a man at our head; but if you do want any other man or men to lead you, take them and we will go our way to build up the kingdom in all the world.

“I know who are Joseph’s friends, and who are his enemies. I know where the keys of the kingdom are, and where they will eternally be. You cannot call a man to be a Prophet; you cannot take Elder Rigdon and place him above the Twelve; if so, he must be ordained by them.

“I tell you there is an over anxiety to hurry matters here. You cannot take any man and put him at the head; you would scatter the Saints to the four winds, you would sever the Priesthood. So long as we remain as we are, the heavenly Head is in constant co-operation with us; and if you go out of that course, God will have nothing to do with you.

“Again, perhaps some think that our beloved brother Rigdon would not be honored, would not be looked to as a friend; but if he does right, and remains faithful he will

not act against our counsel, nor we against his, but act together, and we shall be as one.

"I again repeat, no man can stand at our head, except God reveals it from the heavens.

"I have spared no pains to learn my lesson of the kingdom in this world and in the eternal worlds; and if it were not so, I could go and live in peace; but for the Gospel and your sakes I shall stand in my place. We are liable to be killed all the day long. You have never lived by faith.

"Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world: we can build a kingdom faster than Satan can kill the Saints off.

"What do you want? Do you want a Patriarch for the whole Church? To this we are perfectly willing. If brother Samuel H. Smith had been living, it would have been his right and privilege; but he is dead, he is gone to Joseph and Hyrum, he is out of the reach of bullets and spears, and he can waft himself with his brothers, his friends and the Saints.

"Do you want a Patriarch? Here is brother William left; here is Uncle John Smith, uncle to the Prophet Joseph, left; it is their right. The right of patriarchal blessings belongs to Joseph's family.

"Do you want a trustee-in-trust? Has there been a Bishop who has stood in his lot yet? What is his business? To take charge of the temporal affairs, so that the Twelve and the Elders may go on their business. Joseph condescended to do their business for them. Joseph condescended to offer himself for President of the United States, and it was a great condescension.

"Do you want a spokesman? Here are Elder Rigdon, Brother Amasa Lyman (whom Joseph expected to take as a Counselor) and myself. Do you want the Church properly organized, or do you want a spokesman to be chief cook and bottle-washer? Elder Rigdon claims to be spokesman to the Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act in that office? If he wants now to be a spokesman to the Prophet, he must go the other side of the veil, for the Prophet is there, but Elder Rigdon is here. Why will Elder Rigdon be a fool? Who knows anything of the Priesthood, or the organization of the kingdom of God? I am plain.

"Does this Church want it as God organized it? or do you want to clip the power of the Priesthood, and let those who have the

keys of the Priesthood go and build up the kingdom in all the world, wherever the people will hear them?

"If there is a spokesman, if he is a king and priest, let him go and build up a kingdom unto himself; that is his right and it is the right of many here, but the Twelve are at the head of it.

"I want to live on the earth and spread truth through all the world. You Saints of Latter-days want things right. If 10,000 men rise up and say they have the Prophet Joseph Smith's shoes, I know they are impostors. In the Priesthood you have a right to build up a kingdom, if you know how the Church is organized.

"Now, if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation, for all the world; don't put a thread between the Priesthood and God.

"I will ask, who has stood next to Joseph and Hyrum? I have, and I will stand next to him. We have a head, and that head is the Apostleship, the spirit and power of Joseph, and we can now begin to see the necessity of that Apostleship.

"Brother Rigdon was at his side—not above. No man has a right to counsel the Twelve but Joseph Smith. Think of these things. You cannot appoint a Prophet; but if you let the Twelve remain and act in their place, the keys of the kingdom are with them and they can manage the affairs of the Church and direct all things aright.

"Now, all this does not lessen the character of President Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the veil—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder. May God bless you all." (President Young said much more which was not written.)

Amasa M. Lyman said:

"I do not rise to electioneer. I am gratified with the open, frank and plain exposition of President Young. He has seen the relation I bear to my deceased brother. I never did conceive it gave me a precedence to go before the Twelve.

"I do not make exceptions to anything he has said. I believe there is no power, or officer, or means wanted to carry on the work, but what is in the Twelve. I am satisfied that no man can carry on the work,

but the power that is in the Twelve, as has been stated.

"There is one thing to secure the salvation of this people, and that is not in union alone, it is for you to know the right and be united—it has been presented to you by President Young, and I will back him up. All I design to do is to redeem my pledge.

"President Young has stood next to the Prophet Joseph, with the Twelve, and I have stood next to them, and I will stand next to them. I have been at the back of Joseph Smith, and will be at the back of the Twelve forever, and then we will be saved.

"There is no need of a President, we have a head here. What is that head? The quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the head. We now see the necessity of the Apostleship.

"I might rise up as well as any other man to ask for the Presidency, but I could not do it without endangering my salvation. This is the power that turns the key to bestow salvation through all the land, in the way that Joseph commenced it, the first one called to do the same in all the world. If Joseph Smith had any power to bear off the kingdom of God, the Twelve have the same.

"I could not advocate a choosing of a President, and myself a candidate; so that you know the place I occupy is, to stand to the Twelve, the same as the Twelve did to Joseph, either on one side or the other. I do not want to go before them or to fall asleep. I want to see the kingdom roll forth by our united faith and efforts."

Sidney Rigdon was next called on, but he excused himself and called upon W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. During the entire meeting he sat in the stand with his back to the congregation, and much of the time with his head down. He had no inclination to show himself to the people, and if his conduct and appearance gave a correct idea of his feelings, he felt badly. Not one word did he utter in a public congregation of the Saints after making his remarks that morning.

Wm. W. Phelps arose and said:

"With the knowledge that I have I cannot suppose but that this congregation will act aright this day. I believe enough has been said to prepare the minds of the people to act.

"I have known many of them for fourteen years, and I have always known them to submit with deference to the authorities of the Church. I have seen the Elders of Israel and the people take their lives in their hands and go without purse or scrip in winter and in summer. I have seen them prepare for war, and ready to pour out their heart's blood, and that is an evidence that they will walk by counsel.

"I am happy to see this little lake of faces, and to see the same spirit and disposition manifested here to-day, as it was the day after the bloody tragedy, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were brought home dead to this city. Then you submitted to the law's slow delay, and handed the matter over to God; and I see the same thing to-day—you are now determined as one man to sustain the authorities of the Church, and I am happy that the men who were on Joseph's right and left hand submit themselves to the authority of the Priesthood.

"I have feelings about this, especially for President Rigdon, and I want to say that there is a quorum that the Twelve belong to, and that the people will receive an endowment. I brought President Rigdon into that quorum, and he received in part the blessings. I could not bear the thought of President Rigdon going into the world without his endowment. He did obtain part, and I hope he will submit.

"I want Brother Amasa to stand on the side of the Twelve, and they are wanted there still—let them go on and sustain them in that high office. You cannot put in a guardian of the Church.

"We have hitherto walked by sight, and if a man wanted to know anything he had only to go to Brother Joseph. Joseph has gone, but he has not left us comfortless.

"I want to say that Brother Joseph came and enlightened me two days after he was buried. He came the same as when he was alive, and in a moment appeared to me in his own house. He said, Tell the drivers to drive on. I asked if the building was on wheels? He said, Certainly. I spoke, and away it went. We drove all round the hills and valleys. He then told the drivers to drive on over the river into Iowa. I told him Devil Creek was before us. He said, Drive over Devil Creek; I don't care for Devil Creek or any other creek; and we did so. Then I awoke.

"There is a combination of persons in this city who are in continual intercourse with William and Wilson Law, who are at the bottom of the matter to destroy all that stands for Joseph, and there are persons

now in this city who are only wanting power to murder all the persons that still hold on to Joseph; but let us go ahead and build up the Temple, and then you will be endowed. When the Temple is completed all the honorable mothers in Israel will be endowed, as well as the Elders.

"If you want to do right, uphold the Twelve. If they die, I am willing to die with them; but do your duty and you will be endowed. I will sustain the Twelve as long as I have breath.

"When Joseph was going away he said he was going to die, and I said I was willing to die with him; but as I am now alive, as a lawyer in Israel, I am determined to live.

"I want you all to recollect that Joseph and Hyrum have only been removed from the earth, and they now counsel and converse with the Gods beyond the reach of powder and ball."

Parley P. Pratt was the next speaker. He said:

"What has been said has been well said. If there are men here who are our enemies, I'll tell you when they will cease to be here: they will be here while you will deal with them. If I exchange property or deal with men, I do it with those whom I know to be faithful.

"If there are wicked men here, it is because we support them. Stop dealing with them, and they will go away. Will I support them? No, I would deal with all honest men whom I know to be such.

"I am willing to do good to all men, especially to the household of faith. Our enemies will cease to dwell here when you cease to deal with them. Mobs and wicked men will cease when you cease to support them.

"I know we can all live and be happy too, when we deal with honest men. If a man wants a doctor or a lawyer, he will send directly for the worst man he can find.

"I would die a natural death sooner than I would have a wicked doctor to help me off. I would go without suing all the days of my life before I would go to a lawyer to sue. I will not say anything about the merchants, because you all know them."

President Brigham Young again arose and said:

"There is more business than can be done this afternoon, but we can accomplish all we want to have done without calling this convention of the whole Church. I am going to present to you the leading items.

"I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for

yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him, but not unless you intend to follow him and support him as you did Joseph. Do not say so without you mean to take his counsel hereafter.

"And I would say the same for the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel; and if they do not counsel you as you please, don't turn round and oppose them.

"I want every man, before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the Priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.

"We want men appointed to take charge of the business that did lay on the shoulders of Joseph. Let me say to you that this kingdom will spread more than ever.

"The Twelve have the power now—the Seventies, the Elders and all of you can have power to go and build up the kingdom in the name of Israel's God. Nauvoo will not hold all the people that will come into the kingdom.

"We want to build the Temple, so as to get our endowment; and if we do our best, and Satan will not let us build it, we will go into the wilderness and we will receive the endowment, for we will receive an endowment anyhow.

"Will you abide our counsel? I again say, my soul for any man's, if they will abide our counsel, that they will go right into heaven. We have all the signs and tokens to give to the porter at the door, and he will let us in."

President Young then addressed himself to the quorums of the Priesthood present, and said:

"Do you want Brother Rigdon to stand forward as your leader, your guide, your spokesman?"

But Sidney Rigdon told him at this point that he desired him to bring up the other question first, which he did by asking:

"Does the Church want, and is it their only desire to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people? Here are the Apostles, the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants—they are written on the tablet of my heart. If the Church want the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into

their calling and hold the keys of this kingdom, every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controlers of it. All that are in favor of this, in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand."

The vote was unanimous. He then said:

"If there are any of the contrary mind, every man and every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner."

Not a hand was raised. President Young then continued:

"We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in our bosom along with us; we want such men as Brother Rigdon. He has been sent away by Brother Joseph to build up a kingdom; let him keep the instructions and calling; let him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburgh, and we will lift up his hands to Almighty God. I think we may have a printing office and a gathering there. If the devil still tries to kill us he will have enough to do.

"The next is President Marks. Our feelings are to let him stand as President of the Stake, as heretofore. We can build the Temple, etc.

"You did not know who you had among you. Joseph so loved this people that he gave his life for them; Hyrum loved his brother and this people unto death. Joseph and Hyrum have given their lives for the Church. But very few knew Joseph's character; he loved you unto death—you did not know it until after his death: he has now sealed his testimony with his blood.

"If the Twelve had been here we would not have seen him given up; he should not have been given up. He was in your midst, but you did not know him; he has been taken away, for the people are not worthy of him.

"The world is wide. I can preach in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, etc. I can preach in all the world, and the devils cannot find us. I'll swear to you I will not be given up.

"There is much to be done. You have men among you who sleep with one eye open. The foundation is laid by our Prophet, and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which is laid, and we will have our endowment if the Lord will.

"As the authorities do not want us to do military duty, don't do it. If it is necessary

my neck is ready for the knife; as for myself, I am determined to build up the kingdom of God: and bye-and-bye there will be a gleaning of grapes, and it may be said, 'To your tents, O Israel.'

"We can build on the foundation that was laid by the Prophet. Joseph has finished his work, and all the devils in hell and all the mohbers on earth could not take his life until he had accomplished his work. God said, I will put a veil over his eyes and lead him up to the slaughter like a sheep to be killed, for the people are not worthy of him, though God loves this people.

"Let no man suppose that the kingdom is rent from you; that it is not organized. If all the quorums of the Church were slain, except the High Priests, they would rise up with the keys of the kingdom, and have the powers of the Priesthood upon them, and build up the kingdom, and the devil cannot help himself.

"You can go to a healthy country, buy the land, and don't let a cursed scoundrel get in your midst. Let there be good men, good women, and whenever a man comes with a wheel-barrow full of goods, don't sell him land, don't let him a house, nor buy of him.

"Suppose we had ten thousand such places, and increasing in greatness, perfectly free from these poor devils, we should feel better than we do now. Let us all be humble and get our endowments—all be humble, industrious and prudent, what sort of a kingdom would it be. The foundation is laid for more than we can think or talk about to-day.

"Is it the will of this congregation that they will be tithed until the Temple is finished, as they have hitherto been? If so, signify it by the uplifted hand. (The vote was unanimous.)

"The men will act that have never acted before, and they will have the power and authority to do it. Is it the mind of this congregation to loose the hands of the Twelve, and enable us to go and preach to all the world? We want to know the feelings of the people. Is it your will to support the Twelve in all the world in their missions? (The congregation sustained this question by a unanimous vote.) Will you leave it to the Twelve to dictate about the finances of the Church? and will it be the mind of this people that the Twelve teach what will be the duties of the Bishops in handling the affairs of the Church? I want this, because twelve men can do it just as well as calling this immense congregation together at any other time. (A unanimous vote.)

"We shall have a Patriarch, and the right is in the family of Joseph Smith, his brothers, his sons, or some one of his relations. Here is Uncle John, he has been ordained a Patriarch. Brother Samuel would have taken the office if he had been alive; it would have been his right; the right is in Uncle John, or one of his brothers. I know that it would have belonged to Samuel. But as it is, if you leave it to the Twelve, they will wait until they know who is the man. (Read Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107, V. 39.) Will you leave it to the Twelve, and they dictate the matter? (A unanimous vote.) I know it will be let alone for the present.

"I feel to bring up Brother Rigdon; we are of one mind with him and he with us. Will this congregation uphold him in the place he occupies by the prayer of faith and let him be one with us and we with him? (Unanimous.) The Twelve will dictate and see to other matters. There will be a committee for the Temple; and now let men stand to their posts and be faithful."

After the benediction was offered by Parley P. Pratt, the meeting was adjourned until the October conference.

The result of this meeting gave general satisfaction; the Saints were relieved of a great burden, and though still full of sadness because of Joseph and Hyrum's death, they felt truly thankful to God that they no longer were without a leader.

But there were a few persons who were much disappointed at the turn affairs had taken. Sidney Rigdon, Wm. Marks and several others, who were actually apostates at heart, did not wish the Twelve to preside. In their secret councils they had laid altogether different plans in relation to the government of the Church and made secret preparations in relation thereto. Now that the Twelve were accepted as the highest authority in the Church, all their projects had been destroyed.*

*The contents of the following pages are mostly taken from George Q. Cannon's "History of the Church" as published in the *Juvenile Instructor*.

President Young and the other Apostles took hold of the new duties which devolved upon them with great zeal and energy. They were surrounded by enemies, and they had great responsibility devolving upon them. Joseph's presence and personal superintendence, during his lifetime, had superseded the necessity of strictness and thorough organization in many directions which were now felt to be essential. Bishops N. K. Whitney and George Miller were appointed to act as trustees-in-trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and it was decided also to increase the number of quorums of Seventies. An epistle was issued to the Saints in Nauvoo and all the world, under date of Aug. 15, 1844, of which we give the opening paragraphs. The epistle says:

"Forasmuch as the Saints have been called to suffer deep affliction and persecution, and also to mourn the loss of our beloved Prophet and also our Patriarch, who have suffered a cruel martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus, having voluntarily yielded themselves to cruel murderers who had sworn to take their lives, and thus like good shepherds have laid down their lives for the sheep, therefore it becomes necessary for us to address you at this time on several important subjects.

"You are now without a Prophet present with you in the flesh to guide you; but you are not without Apostles, who hold the keys of power to seal on earth that which shall be sealed in Heaven, and to preside over all the affairs of the Church in all the world; being still under the direction of the same God, and being dictated by the same Spirit, having the same manifestations of the Holy Ghost to dictate all the affairs of the Church in all the world, to build up the kingdom upon the foundation that the Prophet Joseph has laid, who still holds the keys of this last dispensation, and will hold them to all eternity, as a King and Priest unto the Most High God, ministering in heaven, on earth, or among the spirits of the departed dead, as seemeth good to Him who sent him.

"Let no man presume for a moment that

his place will be filled by another; for, remember he stands in his own place, and always will; and the Twelve Apostles of this dispensation stand in their own place and always will, both in time and in eternity, to minister, preside and regulate the affairs of the whole Church.

"How vain are the imaginations of the children of men, to presume for a moment that the slaughter of one, two, or a hundred of the leaders of this Church could destroy an organization, so perfect in itself and so harmoniously arranged that it will stand while one member of it is left alive upon the earth. Brethren, be not alarmed, for if the Twelve should be taken away, still there are powers and offices in existence which will bear the Kingdom of God triumphantly victorious in all the world. This Church may have Prophets many, and Apostles many, but they are all to stand in due time in their proper organization, under the direction of those who hold the keys."

The epistle then gave directions concerning the gathering, urging the Saints who had capital to come to Nauvoo, employ the poor and help build up the city. The building of the Temple was given a prominent place, and the necessity of every member proceeding immediately to tithe himself was set forth with great plainness.

There was a disposition manifested by some men during those days to lead off companies into the wilderness, promising the people that they would there receive their endowments. A report was circulated that President Young and the other Apostles had a secret understanding with the men who set themselves up as the leaders of these companies, to the effect that they were to take away all that they could; and although in public the Twelve would speak against their going, yet privately they wished them to go. This was a very cunning plan of the evil one, by which he hoped to break up the people and destroy the work of God. If President Young, or any of the

Apostles should speak in public against the formation of these companies, and say to the people that they ought not to leave Nauvoo at that time, these men who started this lying report would say. "Did we not tell you that the Twelve would speak against this in public? This was all arranged beforehand when we had our secret understanding. You must not mind what they say in public." By this means the adversary hoped to deceive the people and lead them to destruction. But when they heard President Young declare to the people that it was not the will of God that the Saints should go into the wilderness at that time, but that it was His will that they should stay in Nauvoo, and build the Temple and get their endowments, they believed his words, for the Spirit bore testimony that they were true.

A number of persons had worked in the pineries of Wisconsin Territory, under the direction of Lyman Wight and George Miller, in cutting timber and sawing lumber for the Temple, and were, therefore, called the Pine Company. This company embraced all of the Saints who had liberty from President Young and the Twelve to leave the city. President Young told Lyman Wight and George Miller from the stand that if they took a course contrary to the counsel of the Twelve and would not act in concert with them, they would be damned and go to destruction. At the same time he said that if men would not stop striving to be great, and exalted, and would persist in leading away parties from the place of gathering, thereby weakening his and his brethren's hands, they would fall and not rise again. These predictions were fulfilled to the very

letter. Lyman Wight did not act in concert with the Twelve; he led the people into difficulty and apostasy; he lost his Apostleship, and another took his place. (See page 111.) George Miller afterwards took the same course, and with the same results. He lost his office and standing in the Church, and, like Lyman Wight, died in apostasy.

At a meeting of the Twelve held in Nauvoo Aug. 24, 1844, Lyman Wight was counseled to go north, but he was determined to carry out his own views, regardless of the council of the Presidency of the Church, and go south. At the meeting mentioned, Wilford Woodruff was set apart for another mission to England, to be accompanied by Elders Dan Jones and Hiram Clark.

Sidney Rigdon outwardly appeared for a short time to submit to the Presidency of the Apostles, but he only did so until he could get his plans matured. Secretly he collected together those who sympathized with him, and all others whom he could tempt and deceive by his cunning words and false statements, and held meetings, in which he promised them wonderful things, and even went so far as to ordain some of them to be prophets, priests and kings. Of course such movements could not long remain concealed; his hypocrisy soon became public; and the whole Church learned, what the Twelve Apostles had long been aware of, that he was an apostate and an enemy to the truth. He also continued to prophesy evil against the Saints, and among other things he predicted that there would not be another stone raised upon the walls of the Temple. He said this in a

meeting, at which Wm. W. Player was present. When Brother Player, who had charge of the mason work of the Temple, went away from the meeting, he took with him Brothers Archibald and John Hill, which three brethren raised and set a stone upon the building, determined that Rigdon's prediction in this instance should fail at once. Shortly afterward the walls of the Temple were completed and under roof. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Sept. 8, 1844, Rigdon was cut off from the Church by the High Council of Nauvoo. (See *Sidney Rigdon*.) Soon afterwards he came out openly and opposed the Church, denounced its leaders and endeavored to seduce the people to commit the same folly and to practise the same wickedness of which he was guilty. To keep up a form of organization he proceeded to choose twelve men and call them apostles, and he soon left Nauvoo and retired to Pittsburgh, Penn., which he made his headquarters. He also sent his missionaries to various places where there were branches of the Church, and endeavored to persuade the Elders and members that he was the legal and heaven-appointed leader of the Church, and that the Twelve Apostles had assumed an authority which did not belong to them. For awhile they made some little stir; what his preachers lacked in authority and in spirit they made up in noise, being vigorous in setting forth their own claims and in detracting from President Young, his brethren the Apostles, and the Elders and Saints who were associated with them. Their exertions, however, had one excellent effect: they gathered out from the Church many hypocrites and evil doers, and

left it more pure and healthy by their labors.

Oct. 6, 1844, and the two following days, the semi-annual conference was held at Nauvoo. Among the authorities of the Church presented on that occasion was William Marks, the President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, and thought that he (Rigdon), and not the Twelve Apostles, should preside over the Church, although he did not avow this very publicly. When Marks' name was represented at the conference, he was objected to by one of the Elders, and when the vote on his name was called, there were but two who held up their hands to sustain him. Upon the contrary vote being called, almost every hand was raised against him. This decided the matter, and William Marks was dropped from his position. A motion was then made to sustain Elder John Smith as President of the Stake, which was unanimously carried. To show how little William Marks cared for the memory of Joseph and Hyrum, the Prophet and the Patriarch, it is only necessary to state that after their deaths, he hired the Mansion House of Emma Smith, Joseph's widow, for the purpose of keeping tavern there. The dining room of that building was yet stained with the blood which had flowed from them while lying there before burial, and they were scarcely cold in their graves, when he arranged to have a ball there, the dancing to be done in the dining room. When President Young and his council heard of this, they resolved to use their influence with the people to prevent their attending the ball.

Also one of the first seven Presi-

dents of the Seventies by the name of Josiah Butterfield was dropped at this conference. He had happened to get a little money, by which he became lifted up, and his religion ceased to have the value to him it ought to have had. Elder Jedediah M. Grant was chosen to act in this office in his stead.

At this conference much valuable instruction was given, the quorums, particularly the Seventies, were filled up, a number of High Priests were selected to go to various places in the United States and to preside, and other important business was attended to. The building of the Temple, and the pushing forward of all the labors incumbent upon the Saints at Nauvoo, were urged with force and energy upon the conference. Around the Temple itself centered the hopes and the future prospect of the Saints, and they labored for and earnestly desired its completion. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The murder of the Prophet and Patriarch had not been attended with the results which the enemies of the Church had anticipated. They had hoped their deaths would be followed by the complete overthrow of the Church; but instead of this the Saints were found to be still united, being led with great wisdom by men of much influence and integrity, and the prospects were that Nauvoo would continue to prosper. Consequently the enemies of the Saints began to lay new plans for the overthrow of the Church and the city of Nauvoo. All kinds of charges were preferred against the Saints, and certain newspapers, among which the *Warsaw Signal*, the *Alton Telegraph* and the *Quincy Whig*, were filled with false stories about the

thieving, the counterfeiting and the murders of the people of Nauvoo. Great indignation was aroused in the country against the Saints by these lies, and this was what these wicked men desired; for they hoped by this means to succeed in raising a mob that would drive the Saints away from their homes. Governor Ford related an incident that came under his own observation which illustrates the character of the charges circulated about the Saints. Said he:

"On my late visit to Hancock County, I was informed by some of their (the Mormons) violent enemies, that their larcenies had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry, was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told of the Hancock County story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams County."

In his message to the legislature the governor said:

"Justice, however, requires me here to say, that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community, than in any other of the same number of inhabitants; and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great."

Vigilance was required to counteract the designs of the wicked, to thwart their plans and to preserve the Saints from the snares which were spread for their feet. President Young was on the alert; he scrutinized every movement, penetrated every plot and, with his brethren, was unceasing in his efforts to

defend and guard the Saints. From the public stand he rebuked the civil authorities of the city for their want of energy in the discharge of the duties of their offices, censured parents and guardians for not controlling their children and keeping them out of the street at night, and warned the people that if they did not rise up and put a stop to the thieving, swearing, gambling, bogus-making, the selling of spirituous liquors, bad houses and all abominations practiced in their midst by their enemies, these evils would uproot them and they would have to leave Nauvoo before they had done the things which the Lord had commanded them to do. These plain warnings had their effect. The Saints became more strict in their own conduct, in controlling their families and in opposing iniquity in every form, and good order was maintained in the city.

Early in January, 1845, a selection of Elders was made to take short missions through the State of Illinois and the Territory of Iowa, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of wicked men, who were endeavoring to poison the minds of the people so as to create a public opinion which would sustain the raising of mobs against the Saints and justify the commission of outrages upon them. Through false reports, which were circulated about the people of Nauvoo, many were led to suppose that the Saints were people of very bad habits and wicked character, and numbers had no means of knowing the truth concerning them. By sending Elders out they could correct misrepresentations, dissipate many prejudices, impart correct information concerning the motives and con-

duct of the Saints, and thus counteract the schemes of the mobbers.

About the time these Elders were called and set apart for this mission, an epistle was prepared by the Twelve Apostles, and sent forth to the Church in all the world. Hopeful and zealous themselves in their labors, the epistle breathed this spirit. It gave a cheerful description of the progress made in building the Temple, and the anticipations in which they indulged respecting certain portions of it being finished by the succeeding fall, so that they could begin to give the Saints their endowments in its rooms. Of the Saints abroad who desired to share with them the labor, as well as the glory, of building the Temple, they made several requests. All the young, middle-aged and able-bodied men who had it in their hearts to help at this work were requested to come to Nauvoo, prepared to stay during the summer, furnished with means with which to sustain themselves, and "to bring with them teams, cattle, sheep, gold, silver, brass, iron, oil, paints and tools;" and those who were within market distance of Nauvoo were requested to bring with them provisions to sustain themselves and others during their stay. The branches of the Church were asked to send all the money, cloth, clothing and raw materials for manufacturing purposes they could. The subject of tithing and its importance was referred to, and the Saints were warned not to trust or pay their money to impostors; but to responsible agents who had written authority from the Apostles, and whose names were published in the *Times and Seasons*.

The quorums of Seventies had finished a very good hall, in which to

hold their meetings; a concert hall was also built with the view to promote the culture of music. Until these were erected, the hall over the Prophet Joseph's store was the only one in Nauvoo where a congregation could be gathered. The High Priests felt that they were sufficiently numerous and important to have a hall for their use; but at their meeting on Jan. 26, 1845, President Young suggested to them that instead of erecting this building, they devote their means to the completion of the upper story of the Temple, in which they could receive their washings, anointings and endowments. This proposition they accepted by a unanimous vote.

The city charter of Nauvoo had proved a bulwark of liberty to the people. Liberal in its provisions and powers, it guaranteed to the citizens under its jurisdiction, protection from the plots of wicked and designing men. It had been granted by the legislature of the State of Illinois at a time when mobocrats did not control the State, and when it was not considered a crime to treat the Latter-day Saints with humanity and that degree of fairness to which, as American citizens, they were entitled. One of the sections of that charter provided that:

"All power is granted to the city council, to make, ordain, establish and execute all ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the State, or of the United States, or, as they may deem necessary for the peace and safety of said city."

Under this authority the city council had passed an ordinance to prevent the citizens of Nauvoo from being carried off by an illegal process. If any person thought he was illegally seized, he could, under that ordinance, claim the right of *habeas*

corpus, to try the question of identity. The Prophet Joseph had found this ordinance very useful when the attempt was made to kidnap and carry him off illegally to the State of Missouri. (See page 525.)

A great outcry was raised by the mobbers against the charter, and politicians, always ready to desert and sacrifice principle for popularity, thought they could gain favor by joining in the clamor. To gain a few votes they were ready to strip the people of Nauvoo of every right and to abandon them to the attacks and machinations of a band of wretches who were more cruel and pitiless than savages or wild beasts. Even Thomas Carlin, governor of the State of Illinois, as early as 1842, in his anxiety to pander to the mob, denounced the city council of Nauvoo for its action in passing this ordinance.

The members of the legislature, with few exceptions, were ready to carry out any plan that would injure or destroy the Latter-day Saints. All the prejudices against them which circulated through the country they fully entertained, and they were prepared to go to any lengths to give expression to them in a hostile manner. Jacob C. Davis, a member of the Senate from Hancock County, was indicted for the murder of the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum, and there is not a doubt but he was in the mob which committed the massacre at Carthage jail. But the Senate, instead of allowing the law to take its course and him to be tried for the crime of which he was accused, discharged him from arrest. No one of those engaged in the commission of that bloody and treacherous deed was to

be punished by the law. This man Davis was afterwards suffered to make bitter speeches against the people of Nauvoo and in favor of the repeal of the charter on the floor of the Senate, and was listened to with as much attention as if he were not a murderer. In fact, a member of the Senate, John Dougherty, from Union County, openly justified the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

What could be expected by the Latter-day Saints from such a legislature? In vain did the representatives from Hancock County, Hon. Jacob B. Backenstos and Hon. A. W. Babbit, plead for the rights of their constituents, the citizens of Nauvoo, and appeal to the sense of justice, equal rights, patriotism and humanity of the members; the latter were resolved to repeal the charter, and thereby deprive the people of all legal protection and expose them to the full violence of their enemies whenever they chose to attack them.

The city charter of Nauvoo was repealed Jan. 21, 1845. It had existed as a body corporate since Dec. 16, 1840, a period of about four years. When the charter was granted the principal officers of the State were as follows: Thomas Carlin, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, associate justices: These men formed the council of revision. When the State took away the chartered rights and left them entirely destitute of protection, the council of revision stood as follows: Thomas Ford, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat, Richard M. Young, James

Shields, Jesse B. Thomas and John D. Caton.

Nauvoo was the most flourishing city in the State of Illinois. Its situation upon the Mississippi was most beautiful, and there was every prospect of it becoming, if left to grow undisturbed, a place of great commercial importance. When the Saints settled there it was a very sickly place; but their industry, perseverance and union had, in a few brief years, improved it, and it was rapidly growing in importance. The people in other portions of the State, and especially in Hancock and the surrounding counties, saw the progress which was made, and they were jealous. They dreaded the growing power of the Latter-day Saints, and, prompted by the evil one, they were ready to adopt any measure to check it and to destroy the work of God. In a community nearly equally divided into two political parties, a united people like the Latter-day Saints, voting in a solid body, carried with them great weight. In those days the great political parties of the country were Democrats and Whigs. In Illinois the people were nearly equally divided in politics. In some places Democrats were elected; in others, Whigs; but at every election in Hancock County, and in every general election in the State, the Saints held the balance of power; for whichever party gained their votes carried the election. This also was a great cause of jealousy, and gave rise to bitterness of feeling. Politicians saw a growing power which they could not manage, and which, at no very distant day, would control the State; and they wished it checked. All these causes combined to prompt the legislature to

strip the city of its charter, and to reduce it to an almost chaotic condition. The property of any city, not peopled by Latter-day Saints, would have been so depreciated by being deprived of its charter, that its prosperity would have received a severe blow. But not so with Nauvoo. Its growth did not depend upon its charter, or the favor of the legislature; there were other causes which had made it a prosperous city, and they still continued to operate when its charter was wrested from it.

After the repeal of the city charter, the attorney-general of the State, Josiah Lamborn, Esq., wrote a letter to President Young, in which he alluded to the legislature and its action in terms the reverse of complimentary. Said he:

"I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by religious and political prejudices and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than for the common good. By the repeal of your charter and by refusing all amendments and modifications our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives exerted themselves to the extent of their abilities in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion."

Referring to Jacob C. Davis, he said:

"Your senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law, an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the Senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to the jail, or to the gallows, or to be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

A stronger contrast could not be given than this alluded to by Mr. Lamborn—the treatment Davis, the

murderer, received from the Senate, and the treatment a "Mormon" would have received from that body had he been in Davis' place and been accused of, or indicted for, the same crime. Every person of reflection in the State knew that a Latter-day Saint accused of crime would receive no mercy at the hands of such men as composed the legislature; they would want him hung or shot down instantly.

Mr. Lamborn wrote another paragraph in his letter which contained an excellent exhortation and a very encouraging prophecy. Said he:

"All you have to do is to be quiet, submissive to the laws and circumspect in your conduct. 'Heap coals of fire on their heads' by humility and kindness, and, my word for it, there will be a mighty reaction in the public sentiment, which will ultimately overthrow all your enemies. The 'sober second thought of the people' will always be right, and heaven will protect you against all the assaults of a corrupt and blood-thirsty rabble."

The Saints have lived to see the fulfilment of Mr. Lamborn's words.

At the April Conference, 1845, the name of the city of Nauvoo was changed by vote to the City of Joseph, in honor of the Prophet. In describing the condition of the city at that time the conference report says:

"Never have we seen the time before when the people were more willing to receive and listen to counsel than now. The High Council have only had one case in about seven weeks. Our magistrates have nothing to do. We have little or no use for charter or law. Every man is doing his best to cultivate the ground, and all are anxious to provide things honestly in the sight of all men—to honor our God, our country and its laws. Whenever a dispute or difficulty arises, a word from the proper source puts all to right, and no resort to law. May God ever save us from this snare of men, this drainer of the purse, and this fruitful source of contention and strife."

The people of God are not dependent upon charters or laws of human enactment for the peace which they enjoy. This was proved at Nauvoo at the time of which we write. Another city, thus robbed of its charter, might obtain an organization by calling the people together and electing a committee, etc.; but at Nauvoo there was a man whom all looked up to as their governor and chief, appointed by the Lord. He presided over the Twelve Apostles, and, with them, was recognized as having the right to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of the city. In company with the Twelve Apostles, President Young attended a meeting which he had appointed and ordained a number of Bishops to take charge of all the Wards of the city. They were directed to select and set apart deacons in their Wards to attend to all things needful, and especially to watch; to be, in fact, among other things, a police to maintain peace and good order throughout the city.

There were many suspicious characters who came to the city, and who presumed upon the people because the city charter was repealed. Some of these were notorious for their crimes, and it was well known that they had evil designs in visiting Nauvoo. But how could they be dealt with? There were no police who had the authority to arrest them, and for the people to have waited upon them and warned them to leave the city would have afforded new pretexts to the enemies of the Saints for getting out writs and carrying them off to prison. Yet something had to be done. It was and still is, a common practice among Yankees, when engaged in conversation, or in

making a bargain, to take out their pocket knives and commence whittling; frequently, also, when engaged in thought they indulge in the same practice, accompanying the whittling by whistling. No person could object, therefore, to the practices of whittling and whistling. Many of the boys of the city had each a large bowie knife made, and when a man came to town who was known to be a villain, and was there for evil purposes, a few of them would get together, and go to where the obnoxious person was, and having previously provided themselves with pine shingles, would commence whittling. The presence of a number of boys, each whittling a shingle with a bright, large bowie knife, was not a sight to escape the notice of a stranger, especially when these knives came uncomfortably close to his body. His first movement, of course, would be to step back and ask what this meant. The boys would make no reply, but with grave faces, keep up their whistling, as though the chief and only pursuit of their lives was whittling and whistling. The man would very likely get very indignant and threaten what he would do if they did not leave him. This would call forth no expression, except, perhaps, the whistling would be a little louder, and the knives would be pushed a little closer to him. In the meantime the crowd of boys would be all the time increasing. What could the man do? If he was armed, he could shoot; but the resolute expression of the boys' faces, and the gleaming knives which they used so dexterously in whittling, would convince him that discretion was the better part of valor; besides, who would want to fight

with a crowd of boys? If a man were to whip them, it would be no credit to him; and if they were to whip him, which would most likely be the case, what a disgrace it would be. The most we ever knew them to do was to stand for awhile and curse and threaten. When they found they could not drive off their tormentors by these means, then they would walk off in the direction of their stopping place, if they had one in town, or, if they had not, in the direction of the ferry, followed by the troop of boys vigorously whittling and whistling; but not uttering a word. To be thus made the laughing stock of the town was maddening; but there was no help for it. There was no law against boys whittling and whistling. The result would be that these people would get out of the city as quickly as possible, for they did not know how soon they might have another visit from the boys.

This unique method of disposing of bad characters, and causing them to leave the city, became universal among the boys. They keenly felt the wrong which had been inflicted upon the Saints, and they entered heartily into this plan to free the city from the presence of men whose aim was to create trouble and to drive their fathers and mothers and friends from their homes. It was fun to them, and it proved most effectual in accomplishing the desired object. The news soon spread around that improper characters had better not visit Nauvoo, as the boys had constituted themselves a committee to keep the city free from low characters, and their method of doing so was one that could not be resisted. The plan was one that was liable to

be greatly abused, and under other circumstances its adoption might have been attended with bad effects, for boys might combine to thus drive off innocent and unoffending men. But in extreme cases, extreme measures are needed; and this was the position of Nauvoo. If any evil arose from the boys whittling and whistling in Nauvoo, it is not known.

Restless and intriguing men were constantly forming and carrying out schemes to drive the Saints off from their homes. Defeated in one direction they did not relinquish their purpose; but turned their attention to other plans. A number of families of the Saints, after the expulsion from Missouri, had settled at and near Lima, Adams County, Illinois. The name of one of these settlements was Yelrome. On Feb. 14, 1845, Father Isaac Morley arrived at Nauvoo from that place with the news that five of the brethren had been arrested there on the charge of larceny, and it was reported that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. These were trumped-up charges and had been framed for the purpose of producing excitement.

To give some coloring to their accusations, these mobbers would take various articles and go at night to the premises of the people whom they wished to accuse, and conceal them there. Then they raised a hue and cry about these things having been stolen from them. Of course they would express their suspicions that the "Mormons" had stolen them, and would get out search warrants to examine their premises. "Those who hide, know how to find" is an old proverb, and they had no difficulty in finding the missing goods. It was thus that the five brethren

spoken of were arrested for larceny. This plan, and others of a similar character, were adopted to get out writs against the brethren in other places as well as Yelrome. By getting out writs of this kind against innocent men, they hoped to provoke resistance to the form of legal authority, and thus produce a collision between the Saints and the State. This subject came up for consideration in a council at Nauvoo, and it was decided that it was best for those who were hunted with writs to go on missions, so that this cause of difficulty might be evaded until the Temple could be finished.

The following letter written by George A. Smith and his father John Smith to Josiah Lamborn, Esq., attorney-general of Illinois, shows very clearly the condition of feelings which existed in Illinois respecting the murder of the Prophet Joseph. It also describes the feelings of the Saints and their quiet and patient submission to the operation of the laws as administered by those entrusted with office:

"Sir! We are this evening informed by Mr. Scott that it is your wish, as prosecuting attorney *vs.* the murderers of the Gens. Smith, that the 'Mormons' should hunt up the witnesses in the case, and that Mr. Murray McConnell had conveyed the idea that there was a committee in the county whose business it was to collect and arrange the testimony against the day of trial, and that said committee are supposed to be 'Mormons,' etc., etc.

"Now, sir, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; or, if you choose, the 'Mormon' fraternity, we beg leave to state to you, what has been often reiterated by us, and which is a well known fact, both to our people and the State; *viz.*, that the difficulty causing the pending trials is not between the 'Mormons' and the anti-Mormons, nor between the 'Mormons' and the murderers; but it is between the State and the prisoners, or offenders.

"To show our loyalty to the institutions of our country and preserve peace in the country, as a people, we pledged ourselves to abide the operations of the law as directed by the proper authorities of the commonwealth; and that we would abide the decisions of the court, not taking vengeance into our own hands, (as was then feared by some,) or commencing prosecutions, to which we have strictly adhered, and intend still to adhere, that our pledge may be honorably redeemed in the sight of all men, although we have been strongly solicited to enter the field of prosecution, and that, too, by the State or her agents; for instance, when Mr. McConnell was engaged in preparation for the prosecution, he came to Nauvoo and strongly solicited the 'Mormons' to come out as complainants and assist in procuring witnesses etc.; but we replied that we had had nothing to do with the affair and wanted nothing to do with it; and for us to enlist in attempting to bring the murderers to justice, no matter how legal in our own movements, it would be construed into a persecution, or a desire to pick a quarrel on our part, which we were and still are determined to avoid, even every appearance of evil, and cut off every occasion of our enemies, or of those who are ready to seize upon any pretext to make us trouble.

"We are decidedly for peace, and we ever have been, and as the murders were committed while the murdered were in the immediate charge of the State, all we ask is that the State will prosecute the case to final judgment and redeem her pledge, as we have ours; or if she choose to abandon the prosecution we shall submit peaceably; although, for public good, we would prefer that justice should take place.

"We are unacquainted with the statutes which suffer indicted murderers to roam at large month after month without arrest; or, after delivery or surrender, to run at pleasure before trial, and we know not what other similar laws we might come in contact with, and be liable to break to our own endangering or disadvantage should we attempt to have anything to do with the case in question.

"It is reported to us, true or false we know not, that the sheriff of Hancock County and his deputies have been forbidden by the court to act in the pending trials; and that the jurors have been discharged without empanelling. If this be true we are unacquainted with the statutes in the case and have nothing to say.

"When Mr. McConnell was here last fall,

at his earnest solicitation, we collected all the information in our possession and presented the same to him, supposing he would prosecute the case to final judgment. He took minutes at the time and probably has them now if he has not handed them over, of which you must be acquainted, better than we, and of which we did not preserve minutes; we know of no new information since that period.

"We were happy to hear that the trials had been committed to your able charge, and anticipated that you would have made us a visit before the sitting of the court; and we still anticipate that after court you will make us a visit that you may have the pleasure of a more general acquaintance among our citizens; and we feel confident that such a visit would be highly appreciated by our friend, General Young, with whom we understand you are acquainted.

"We shall be ever ready in favoring the ends of right so far as we can do it, and not give any occasion of excitement which would be detrimental to public peace. We are sir, Most Respectfully, Your Servants,

GEORGE A. SMITH,
JOHN SMITH."

May 19, 1845, the trials of some of the murderers of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, commenced at Carthage, Hon. Richard M. Young, of Quincy, on the bench. The men indicted by the grand jury for these murders were: Col. Levi Williams, a Baptist preacher, Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, Jacob C. Davis, State senator, Mark Aldrich and Wm. N. Grover. They were held to bail, with themselves as sureties, in the sum of \$1,000 each, to make their appearance in the court each day of the term. To secure a suitable jury to answer their purpose, the accused had recourse to an extraordinary proceeding. They made two affidavits asking for the array of jurors to be quashed on the ground that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies, in impaneling the jury had the design to hurt and prejudice the trial and thus endanger

the lives of the accused. The lawyers on both sides argued the question; but the judge ruled that the panel should be quashed, and that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies be discharged and elisors be appointed for the purpose of choosing another jury. Two men were appointed by the court as elisors, and they selected the jurors. Out of the 96 men who were summoned to act in this capacity 12 were found who were satisfactory to the defense.

The guilt of the prisoners was clearly shown to the court and bystanders by the prosecuting attorney, but despite the evidence brought against them they were "honorably acquitted" by the jury, May 30, 1845. This result had been anticipated by the Saints. A vote of the city council had been taken, in the previous month of July, to the effect that when the law failed to atone for the blood of the Prophet and Patriarch, they would refer the case to God for a righteous judgment. One of the lawyers for the accused, Calvin A. Warren, stated in his remarks, that, "if the prisoners were guilty of murder, then he himself was guilty. He alleged that it was the public opinion that the Smiths ought to be killed, and public opinion made the laws; consequently it was not murder to kill them!"

During these days President Young and others of the Apostles had to conceal themselves to avoid being arrested. Constables and other officers from Carthage frequently came to Nauvoo with writs, but they were not successful in serving them. The charges on which these writs were issued were groundless; the Twelve

Apostles were innocent of the wrongs laid to their charge; but the design in issuing legal process against them was to harass and annoy them, to get them into the power of the mob, that they might be killed as Joseph and Hyrum had been.

In the morning of May 24, 1845, President Young and his fellow Apostles came forward from their hiding places to lay the capstone of the Temple. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

In a letter written by Governor Ford to President Young, under date of April 8th, 1845, he stated that the impression on the public mind everywhere was that the leaders of the Latter-day Saints were impostors and rogues, and that the others were dupes and fools. This was the reason he assigned for their considering and treating the Saints as enemies and outcasts, as men to be cherished and trusted in nothing, because, in their estimation, some of them were deluded and others designing in matters of religion. Said he:

"If you can get off by yourselves, you may enjoy peace; but surrounded by such neighbors I confess that I do not foresee the time when you will be permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means; but this we know that if conquered from Mexico, the country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there, take possession of

and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations? You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this, your design ought not to be known, or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States' territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with."

This course was suggested by others as well as Governor Ford, and leading men in the nation thought it the only possible solution of what they called the "Mormon question." They were willing to promise the Saints any amount of land belonging to Mexico, and some were even in favor of letting them have a portion of Oregon to settle upon. But the Saints did not accept Governor Ford's suggestion in establishing an independent government of their own. They loved their country, its institutions, its constitution and laws; and though they had suffered persecution and violence, their leaders had been killed, and they had been driven from their homes by mobs, they were still willing to contend for their rights in the government and not outside of it; and therefore made no attempts to set up an independent government when they settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley.

At this crisis the Twelve Apostles called on Elders Orson Spencer and Samuel Brannan to visit Gov. Ford, which they did, and were received politely. The governor introduced them to ex-Governor Reynolds, and they had a lengthy interview with the governors, who chatted freely in relation to the prejudice entertained by the people through the State against the Latter-day Saints. The governors were requested to use

their influence officially and personally to allay prejudice. They urged the necessity of ceasing to gather in one place, and opposed Elder Spencer's proposition to buy out the anti-Mormons in Hancock County. They said that it was the political influence of the Saints which exasperated the people against them. Ex-Governor Reynolds said he had tried, in public speaking, to lessen the supposed faults of the Saints, but the people had rudely resisted him and accused him of being a "Mormon." Governor Ford said that he could not trust the best militia in the State to defend the "Mormons;" that they would go over to the side of the mob in the event of a collision; he could not even trust General Hardin. He further stated that the conduct of Governor Boggs, of Missouri, towards Joseph Smith was unlawful and barbarous; and pledged himself never to re-enact the drivings and expulsions experienced by the Saints at the hands of the State of Missouri. He also renewed a former pledge that he would never demand the leaders of the Church on criminal writs and expose them to assassination as Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been; he stated, however, that his official influence was only *nominal*.

Elder Spencer informed Governor Ford that it was the intention of the Saints, so soon as the Temple was finished, to colonize distant parts of the country, and that they were ready to sell their property as soon as practicable and commence removals, if their neighbors would purchase their property.

The report which Elder Spencer made to his brethren was indeed a sorrowful one. It contained the testimony of two governors that relig-

ious freedom—so far as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was concerned—was at an end in Illinois.

President Brigham Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles met in council and deliberated upon the trying position in which the Saints in Hancock County were placed. The constitution and laws of Illinois, through the lack of faithful ex-executors, being powerless for their protection, they deemed it wisdom to write as follows to the President of the United States and to the governor of every State in the Union except Missouri:

“NAUVOO, April 24, 1845.

“*His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States:*

“Honorable Sir.—Suffer us, sir, in behalf of a disfranchised and long-afflicted people to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration, in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

“It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States over which you have the honor to preside, while a few only claim the privilege of peaceable and lawful emigrants designing to make the Union our permanent residence.

“We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of this State, that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote, until the blood of our best men has been shed, both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

“You are doubtless somewhat familiar with the history of our extermination from the State of Missouri, wherein scores of our brethren were massacred; hundreds died through want and sickness occasioned by the unparalleled sufferings, some millions of our property were destroyed, and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives to the then hospitable and peaceable shores of Illinois; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provi-

sion private rights have become invested, and the largest city in the State has grown up, numbering about twenty thousand inhabitants.

“But, sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than those of Missouri. She has already used the military of the State with the Executive at their head to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salvo for such unearthly perfidy and guilt she told us through her highest executive officers, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, where the citizens of a sovereign State pounced upon two defenceless servants of God—our Prophet and our Patriarch—before the senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the sheriff of Hancock County and gave him an honorable seat in her hall of legislation, and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith are suffered to roam at large watching for further prey.

“To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed all those chartered rights by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise (for we have reason to expect it both ways), we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty; and if we continued passive and non-resistant we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it.

“And here, sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith, during his short life, was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times charged with criminal offences, but was acquitted every time by his country, his enemies, or rather his religious opponents, almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that as a people we are law-abiding, peaceable, and without crime, and we challenge the world to prove the contrary; and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stripped of every source of arraignment—marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

“With these facts before you, sir, will you

write to us without delay as a father and friend, and advise us what to do. We are members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, yea some of us, have fought and bled for your country, and we love her constitution dearly.

"In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? or will you in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois? or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the northwestern Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

"And now, honored sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you, with deep solemnity, we would importune with you as a father, a friend, a patriot and the head of a mighty nation; by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this Republic, by the blood of the martyrs which have been shed in our midst, by the wailings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable, and that too, for aught we know, for the last time, that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy, and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or in some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

"We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people and of many ready to perish shall come upon you.

"We are, sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
WILLARD RICHARDS,
ORSON SPENCER,
ORSON PRATT,
W. W. PHELPS,
A. W. BABBITT,
J. M. BERNHISEL.

"Committee, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois.

"P. S. As many of our communications, post-marked at Nauvoo, have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger."

The others to the governors were the same as the above with slight requisite alterations.

President Young received a respectful answer from Governor Thomas S. Drew in reply to the communication to him as governor of Arkansas, alleging his inability to protect the Saints in the State of Arkansas, and suggesting the propriety of the "Mormons" settling Oregon, California, Nebraska, or some other country where they would be out of the reach of their persecutors. He was the only governor in the United States who deigned to reply to the appeal of the committee in behalf of the Church.

Governor Drew referred the Saints to the patriarchal proposition of Abraham to Lot, about separating and choosing the portion of the land which suited him, and concluded with the following paragraph:

"Should the Latter-day Saints migrate to Oregon, they will carry with them the good will of philanthropists and the blessings of every friend of humanity. If they are wrong, their wrongs will be abated with many degrees of allowance; and if right, migration will afford an opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world."

The following appeared in the *New York Sun*:

"The spiritual concerns of the Mormons

are governed by a council of twelve, composed of the following persons: Brigham Young—The Lion of the Lord. Heber C. Kimball—The Herald of Grace. Parley P. Pratt—The Archer of Paradise. Orson Hyde—The Olive Branch of Israel. Willard Richards—The Keeper of the Rolls. John Taylor—The Champion of Right. Wm. Smith—The Patriarchal Jacob's Staff. Wilford Woodruff—The Banner of the Gospel. George A. Smith—The Entablature of Truth. Orson Pratt—The Guage of Philosophy. John E. Page—The Sun-dial. Lyman Wight—The Wild Ram of the Mountains. The only property owned in common is the Temple. The Mormons are industrious, good farmers, raise wheat plentifully, and are about to engage in manufactures. The whole community may be considered in their peculiar tenets singular and remarkable, and in after ages their Temple, like the ruins of Palenque, may strike the beholder with wonder, and history may be unable to explain what race worshipped there."

In August, 1845, President Young met with his brethren in council, when it was decided that three thousand able-bodied men should be selected to prepare themselves to start in the spring for Upper California, taking their families with them.

Early in the month of September commenced the memorable house-burning in Hancock County. The successful prosecution of the building of the Temple and the rapid strides made in erecting the Nauvoo House, seemed to tempt the cupidity of the neighbors of the Saints. The anti-Mormons realizing also that the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum were acquitted, that the city charter of Nauvoo was repealed, and the Saints, in a manner, placed outside the protection of the law, did not hesitate to commit any outrage. At Lima and Yelrome they set fire to buildings and stacks of grain, and fired upon Brother Clark Hulet and the children of Brother Durfee.

When the news of the proceedings reached Nauvoo, the Apostles sent

word to those places, advising the people to offer their property for sale to the mob, and remove the women and children to Nauvoo as quickly as possible; the men were advised to remain quietly and watch the movements of the mob. In a letter to the President of the Yelrome Branch, President Young stated that "the object of our enemies is to get opposition enough to raise popular excitement, but we think it best to let them burn up our houses, while we take care of our families and grain."

In accordance with his counsel the citizens of Yelrome proposed to the mob to sell them their landed property and improvements, reserving only the crops on which they were dependent for their bread, and take in payment cattle, wagons and such things as they could use in removing their families. But still the persecutions continued, with the most diabolical persistency. Volunteers were called for in Nauvoo to go with their teams and assist in bringing in the families of the Saints from the isolated settlements where the mobbing was most violent, to that place, in response to which 135 teams were sent forthwith.

During this time J. B. Backenstos, Esq., sheriff of the county, who on more than one occasion had proved himself a friend of the Saints, and disposed to maintain the peace, was doing all he could to quell the inclination to mob, which had become so prevalent. He even went to Warsaw and tried to raise a *posse* to stop the burning, but was unable to get a single man to assist him.

About this time Bishop George Miller was arrested at Carthage on a charge of treason. An officer, with

writes against President Young and the Twelve also, visited Nauvoo. The charges were for aiding and abetting Joseph Smith in treasonable designs against the State, for being officers in the Nauvoo Legion, for building an arsenal, for keeping cannon in times of peace, for holding a private council in Nauvoo and for holding correspondence with the Indians. He, however, left without making any arrest.

Sheriff Backenstos wrote to President Young from Carthage Sept. 15, 1845, advising him to organize 2,000 well armed men, and hold them in readiness for immediate service when he might call upon them; and stated that he could not reasonably expect support from those citizens called "Jack-Mormons." The term "Jack-Mormons" was in those days applied to persons who did not belong to the Church, but were friendly to its members.

The course of President Young had been to suppress excitement among the people, that they might not be led to commit acts of aggression, for he wished the world at large to see who the real aggressors were. He was willing, for the sake of preserving peace, and as a means of gaining security and order for the time being, to agree with the mob to leave the State in the spring. At the same time the Saints had observed the law, magnified the Constitution and done more towards developing the resources of the State than any or all the rest of its inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the perilous condition of the Saints and the continued depredations of their enemies in the adjoining districts, in Nauvoo the people continued their labors

upon the Temple, determined to rear it at all hazards.

The persecutions of the mob were not confined to the members of the Church; they were also felt by those who were favorable to them, and who wished them to have their rights. Sheriff Backenstos rode into Nauvoo on the 16th of September, in great haste and appearing much excited. On the previous day he had been driven by the mob from his home in Carthage; from which place he had gone to Warsaw, and sought refuge for the night. There he learned that the mobbers were very much enraged at him for trying to stop the burning of property, and that they were determined to take his life if possible, and, in fact, that they had planned to waylay and kill him on his way to Nauvoo. On starting the next morning, he got a man to accompany him a portion of the way. Soon after they parted company, the sheriff saw a party of the mob pursuing him on horseback, and though he drove his horse as fast as he could, he riding in a buggy, they gained upon him in the chase, and one of them who rode the swiftest horse would likely have overtaken him had his horse not fallen and thrown him. The mob now took a cut-off to intercept him, and gained on him so rapidly that they were within two hundred yards of the sheriff when he came up with O. P. Rockwell and John Redden, who were engaged in removing sick families into Nauvoo from the burnt district. They, seeing the sheriff coming down the hill towards them at such a frightful speed, called to him and asked what was the matter. He told them he was pursued by the mob, and commanded them in the name of the

State, to protect him. They replied that they would do so, as they were well armed. The sheriff, encouraged by this, turned to the approaching mob and commanded them to stop, but as they paid no attention to the order, and continued to advance, apparently reckless and blood-thirsty, and raising their guns to fire at him, he ordered O. P. Rockwell to fire. Aiming at the clasp of the belt on the foremost man, the latter fired, and simultaneously with the report of the gun the man fell from his horse. His comrades then stopped and cared for him, leaving the sheriff to proceed on his way.

It was very evident that Rockwell had saved the life of the sheriff, as there was no doubt that the blood-thirsty mobbers who followed him were determined to kill him. Had he refused to comply with the demand of the sheriff for protection, he would, to say the least, have proved himself an arrant coward. It was soon afterwards ascertained at Nauvoo that the man whom Rockwell had thus shot and killed was named Franklin A. Worrell, one of the most bitter and implacable enemies to the Saints in the country. This same Worrell was officer of the guard at Carthage jail when the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, were murdered, and afterwards a witness when the case of their murder was under examination. He was asked at that time, among other questions, whether the fire-arms of the guard under his charge at the jail were loaded with blank cartridges only, or bullets. He refused to answer the question, and assigned, as a reason, that he could not do so without criminalizing himself; thus proving by his own confession that if not actually

engaged in the murder he was indirectly a party to it.

The suffering of the Saints during the persecutions and troubles through which they were now passing was extreme. Many of those who had their homes destroyed and were thus rendered destitute of nearly all the comforts and many of the necessities of life were sick, and unable to offer any resistance had they been disposed to. Neither were the more strong and healthy generally in a condition to make a very able defense against the attacks of such a merciless mob. Many of them were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, never having been brought into action before and their fire-arms were few and of an inferior character.

Sheriff Backenstos, after reaching Nauvoo, immediately issued his second proclamation to the citizens of Hancock and surrounding counties, in which he recounted the nefarious and bloody acts of the mob throughout Hancock County, detailed his narrow escape from the infuriated men who had followed him, commanded the mobbers and rioters to disperse and cease their violence, and ordered all able-bodied men throughout the county to arm themselves in the best possible manner and defend their lives and property. As a postscript to this proclamation, he added:

“It is proper to state that the Mormon community have acted with more than ordinary forbearance—remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance, when their dwellings, other buildings, and stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence, and they have forborne, until forbearance is no longer a virtue.

“The notorious Colonel Levi Williams, who is at the head of the mob, has ordered out the militia of this brigade, comprising Hancock, McDonough and Schuyler Couu-

tes; but it is to be hoped that no good citizen will turn out and aid him or others in the overthrow of the laws of our country, and it is certain that no good citizen will cross the Mississippi River with a design to aid the rioters."

The First Presidency also urged upon the people the necessity of being vigilant, that the mob might not come upon them unawares, and of moving their women and children and substance into Nauvoo as quickly as possible, if unable to protect themselves. In Nauvoo a committee of five men were appointed to wait upon the mob, and petition for peace, promising them if they would retire and cease their mobbings, lawless litigations and other persecutions, and allow the Saints the necessary time and peace to prepare to remove, that they would leave the State in the spring. A proclamation was then issued, signed by the Apostles and a number of the leading Elders of the Church, and addressed to Colonel Levi Williams, and the mobbing party of which he was the supposed leader, announcing the names of the men appointed as a committee from Nauvoo, and making known their proposition to leave the State, and asking for an answer to be returned in writing or by the committee who should wait on them. Two days after this was sent, A. B. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, arrived in Nauvoo from Warsaw, and stated that his purpose was to save the destruction of property and individual suffering that evidently must occur unless conciliatory measures were adopted. He brought with him the names of Levi Williams and six others appointed as a committee by the anti-Mormons of Warsaw and vicinity to negotiate for peace. It seemed that many who had read the

proposition to compromise addressed to the mob were satisfied with the proposals therein made, while many others were equally embittered and opposed to its stipulations, on account, as they claimed, of being addressed as a mob. They thought to accede to this would be to virtually acknowledge that they were among those who had been engaged in burning and destroying property.

On the evening of the 16th, Sheriff Backenstos, feeling anxious for the safety of his family and others at Carthage, raised an armed force and proceeded to that place to rescue them from the power of those threatening. On this point we quote his own language:

"On entering the town we were fired upon by some of the mobbers, who instantly fled. My heart sickens when I think of the awfully distressed state in which I found my family, in the hands of a gang of black-hearted villians, guilty of all the crimes known to our laws. * * * The families which I designed to rescue had all fled, with the exception of Mrs. Deming, the widow of the late General Deming, who was of the opinion that she might escape their vengeance, inasmuch as the recent death of her husband it was thought would have appeased their wrath against that family.

"After we had entered the town, persons were seen running about the streets with firebrands. Anticipating their intention of firing their own buildings in order to charge the same upon the *posse comitatus* under my command, we immediately took steps to prevent this, by threatening to put to the sword all those engaged in firing the place."

Almost every hour brought news to Nauvoo of new and cruel depredations by the lawless and bloodthirsty mob in the suffering districts. The postmasters of Warsaw and Carthage and the treasurer and assessor of Hancock County, living at Carthage, were driven from their homes by force of arms, the first having but half a minute's time allowed him to

prepare to leave. These men were not members of the Church, but the rioters were displeased with them because they were opposed to the mobocratic spirit. They were men of good character, and had, up to the time the persecutions commenced, been generally respected by all classes. A spirit of desperation and frenzy seemed to have taken possession of a great portion of the people known as anti-Mormons, and they would scarcely hesitate at committing any act of outrage to wreak vengeance on the Latter-day Saints and effect their wicked ends. That the deeds they were committing were unlawful, they well knew, and hence they tried to elude detection in most instances. Generally, when engaged in house-burning, they kept horses stationed close at hand, on which they could make their escape if necessary.

When Sheriff Backenstos had seen his family safely started for Nauvoo, he and his small force of men proceeded towards Warsaw, but learning on the road that the mob were engaged in burning houses at a place known as Bear Creek, they directed their course towards where they saw the smoke arising. On nearing the scene of burning, the sheriff's party divided, and attempted to surround the men engaged in the work of destruction, but in doing so they were discovered by the latter, who made off as fast as their horses could carry them. The sheriff gave his men orders to pursue and arrest them if possible, and if they would not submit to arrest, to fire upon them. His orders were obeyed, and the result was, two of the fleeing party were killed and others thought to be wounded.

This was, as stated in a proclamation by the sheriff of the county, the first effort at open resistance to mob violence in that section. It now became apparent that a united effort must be made by the peaceable citizens at quelling those who seemed so determined on the destruction of life and property. The mob were reported in large bodies in different parts, and very threatening.

The sheriff raised a company of 200 men and again set out for the southwestern part of the county, which had up to this time suffered most heavily from mob violence. When out about six miles from Nauvoo he sent back to that place for a heavy reinforcement of men and two cannons, and stated that he wished to attack the mob in their stronghold, and prevent their crossing the river by stationing men at the crossings. President Young immediately wrote to him, remonstrating against the course he was about to pursue, and advised him not to attempt to prevent them from crossing the river, nor hem them in there, and compel them to fight, as it would doubtless result in much bloodshed, but instead, to allow them to cross the river to Missouri if they wished to, and then, by placing men at the passes of the river, prevent their return.

Several small parties were sent from Nauvoo to different parts of the county to protect isolated places, and in the meantime an answer from the sheriff was awaited. All public work in Nauvoo was now suspended, except the building of the Temple, which President Young was determined should not cease, even though, as he stated, the workmen should find it necessary to carry the sword

in one hand while they worked with the other. It had been decided that a cannon should be fired in Nauvoo, as a signal for the assembling of the citizens in case of emergency, and all possible preparations were made by the people for the protection of themselves and their friends in the surrounding districts. President Young instructed them in their duties, and urged them not to molest the property of the mobbers, in case they should run away and leave their homes.

At the time when the call for reinforcements was received from the sheriff, the signal gun was fired and the citizens of Nauvoo assembled on the square, carrying such fire-arms as they happened to have in their possession, and expecting to have to march and meet the enemy. The men were reduced in strength by sickness and the hardships they had undergone, and were not in a fit condition for such service; so it was decided that they should remain where they were until further orders were received.

The next news from the sheriff was to the effect that he had concluded to act upon the advice of President Young, and save the shedding of blood if possible. He had learned that about eight hundred of the mob had fortified themselves in the vicinity of Warsaw, near the Mississippi River, who were well armed and had one piece of artillery. He now wanted 400 armed men to be sent out in wagons, to assist him. In his letter to President Young he asked him to pray that the blessings of Heaven might rest upon him and his men in their campaign, that their enemies might not fall upon them in ambuscade. Mr. Backen-

stos was not a member of the Church, but it was evident from this that he was not without faith in President Young's favor with the Lord.

The 400 men called for were sent; the sheriff marched a part of them to Carthage and ordered them to surround the town, that he might arrest a number of men against whom he had writs, for being engaged in the house-burning. On searching the town, he found that all for whom he held writs had fled except one. The sheriff then addressed a communication to the mob assembled in the southwestern portion of the county, commanded by Colonel Levi Williams, in which he reminded them of the crimes they had committed; called upon them to cease their mobbing and burning and deliver themselves up into his hands, to be dealt with according to law. He also demanded of them the public arms in their possession, and stated that he would await a reply, which, if they failed to send, their silence would be considered as a refusal, and they must suffer the consequences.

This determined course taken by Sheriff Backenstos had the effect of producing fear among the mob. Not only those of Carthage for whom he held writs, but also many guilty ones in other places fled from the county and State with all possible haste.

While awaiting a reply to his communication to the assembled mob, the sheriff directed his men at Carthage to collect from the citizens of that place all arms, ammunition, etc., belonging to the State, in their possession. While they were thus engaged an incident occurred, which we relate, as it shows that the sheriff was a man of justice and fine feelings. Two of the men collecting the

arms either misunderstood or wilfully acted in opposition to his order, by taking possession of three guns, the private property of individuals; one man also quarreled with a lady and used ungentlemanly language in her presence. For their conduct, the sheriff ordered these men under arrest, placed a guard over them and sent them home in disgrace, while the guns were returned to their owners.

Sept. 20, 1845, four citizens of Macomb, the capital of McDonough County, Illinois, arrived at Nauvoo as a committee from their city to ascertain whether the Latter-day Saints still intended to leave the State in the spring, according to their former proposition to the mob under command of Levi Williams. They were replied to by the Apostles, who met in council, to the effect that the Saints were under no obligation to leave, according to the stipulations of that proposition, as the terms of it were not acceded to by the mobbing party; still, they would not hesitate to leave, as proposed, if the people of the surrounding counties would by their influence assist them in disposing of their property, and staying the unwarranted and vexatious lawsuits which were continually being brought against them. If the Saints could have the assurance of peace for a short time, they would devote their time to preparing to remove, and they would not only leave the State, but remove so far away that their peculiar religious tenets need not furnish the people of Illinois any pretext for further complaint. They stated also that they were willing to buy out the citizens who were opposed to them, if that would suit them, and the Saints and

their friends could be left in full and peaceable possession of the county. A. W. Babbit, Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell were then appointed a committee to return home with those from Macomb and confer with the citizens of that place in regard to the terms proposed.

After waiting from the 18th to the 20th for a reply from the assembled mob commanded by Levi Williams, the sheriff and a part of his force started for the place where they were encamped, determined to arrest or rout them. They had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the whole force of the mob had fled and crossed the Mississippi to Missouri.

Since the party engaged in burning property at Bear Creek were fired upon, no cases of house-burning had occurred; yet it was evident that the mob were not content with what they had done, for they were reported in different parts, trying to rally their forces to commit further outrages.

Sept. 23rd, 15 of the leading Elders of the Church were summoned to appear at Carthage for trial, on the charge of treason. The next day they proceeded to Carthage, accompanied by President Young and others. The witness against them, on whose testimony the warrant was issued, was a Dr. Backman, who, on being sworn in court, stated that he was not acquainted with the prisoners, and that he, personally, knew nothing against them; but that he made affidavit on the strength of the rumors in circulation, and that he believed them guilty. It was clearly evident that there was no foundation for the charge, except in rumor, and the prisoners were discharged. This

is a fair sample of the charges for arrest and trial by which the Saints were being continually harassed. A person, as in this case, totally unacquainted with the men against whom he made oath, except by false rumors, believed that they were guilty of treason, and on his making affidavit to this effect, 15 of them must be arrested and appear for trial.

The committee sent to Macomb to attend the meeting of the citizens of that place, returned without accomplishing much. On their arrival there, they found the people excited and hostile in the extreme. They were threatened with violence until it was not considered prudent for them to venture out of doors. Such was the feeling of animosity, towards, not only the Saints, but also those who were thought to favor them; for two of the members of this committee—Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell—were not at that time connected with the Church. They were unable to confer with the people in mass meeting, but watched from an upper window the movements and heard the threats of the rabble below. They were finally advised by a committee that their only safety depended on their immediate departure from the town. They accordingly returned without accomplishing the object for which they were sent.

The people of the State were now fairly aroused to a sense of what was transpiring in Hancock County and the surrounding districts. The citizens of Quincy, the county seat of Adams County, who had on a previous occasion shown much friendship for the Saints, held a public meeting to consider what should be done, and appointed delegates to

wait upon the citizens of Nauvoo and learn the facts in relation to their proposition to leave the State. The delegates from Quincy arrived at Nauvoo on the 24th. A council was called, composed of the leading men of the city, and propositions were submitted similar to those given the committee from Macomb. The committee from Quincy acknowledged that the propositions, if carried out in full faith, ought to be satisfactory to all concerned. Yet they thought, all things considered, that something more unconditional would have to be offered by the Saints before peace could be secured for them.

The committee from Quincy, after receiving the propositions in writing, returned home, promising to present them to the citizens of Quincy, who would assemble in mass meeting for their consideration.

Sept. 25, 1845, Sheriff Backenstos issued his fifth proclamation, in which he detailed many of the cruel and atrocious acts of the mob, and stated that though they had not returned to commit further outrage in the county, they were "brawling about the adjoining counties, the State of Missouri and Iowa Territory, circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid in order to recommence burning and mobbing." He also stated that many complaints had been made to him by "Mormons" and anti-Mormons of cattle and other property having been stolen from them. He had exerted himself to ferret out the truth in regard to these cases, and though rumors were abundant that the Saints were guilty of these deeds, he had invariably found that they were the

sufferers and not the depredators. Of this he said :

"Every one of those persons who report property stolen, who are not Mormons, are by no means regarded as enemies by them; but on the other hand, they have all denounced this mobbing and burning as most infamous. It is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that men who will burn houses, barns, grain and other property, and will drive and exterminate the United States postmasters and other officers from their offices and homes with force of arms, under the penalty of death, are none too good to steal cattle, horses and sheep too. Men who are guilty of such damnable outrages, are hardened against all the tender feelings of human beings; the savages would shrink with horror at such base and cowardly acts as are characteristic of this mob faction. Again, why is it that the stealing of cattle and horses is confined in nearly every instance to those who are opposed to the mobocrats? If the Mormons are guilty of these depredations complained of, is it not a remarkable circumstance that not a single hoof of all the cattle and horses that are alleged to have been stolen, were taken from any of those engaged in the mobbing; in every case, so far as I can learn, they were taken from persons opposed to this wicked proceeding of the mob party."

The sheriff also denounced Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, as a villian of the worst dye, and the statements of proceedings in the county published by him in the *Signal* as infamous falsehoods. This same Sharp was without doubt one of the worst enemies the Saints had in those days. All the time during their troubles the columns of the *Signal* were replete with the most glaring falsehoods concerning the acts of the Saints, and the editor through this medium did much towards urging on the mobbers to commit their deeds of crime. Many of the statements made by him as also many of the rumors in circulation against the Saints gained credence even with many honest persons who were not personally acquainted with the facts. In fact, the popular prejudice against

the Saints was so strong that no amount of argument was required to convince thousands of such persons that the "Mormons" were guilty of every imaginable crime.

Families were now constantly arriving in Nauvoo from La Harpe and other isolated places for protection, and in Nauvoo arrangements were being made for emigrating. Companies were being organized and committees appointed for deciding on what outfit would be required by those who should sally forth for the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

Governor Ford ordered that all bodies of troops in the State should be discharged except a small force to be commanded by General J. J. Hardin; and accordingly, on Sept. 28th the small force of militia left at Carthage by the sheriff to maintain peace were ordered home.

On the 30th, General Hardin with 400 troops, arrived in Nauvoo and awaited on the public square an interview with President Young, the Twelve Apostles and leading men of the city. Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Sheriff Backenstos, who also came with General Hardin, waited on President Young and informed him that it was hard to convince the public that the "Mormons" were not really the persons who had been doing the house-burning in Hancock County, and that on this point they wished him to talk to General Hardin. He accordingly visited the general, who was surrounded by his troops and staff officers on the square. General Hardin read his orders from Governor Ford, which were to the effect that he was to keep peace in Hancock County, even if it was necessary to place it under martial law to do so. He also

stated that he wished to search for the dead bodies of two men who were last seen in Nauvoo, and who were supposed to have been murdered there. President Young assured him that he was welcome to search for dead bodies or anything else if he chose to. The general then inquired if he knew anything concerning them, or of any crimes having been committed in Nauvoo. President Young replied that he knew of nothing of the kind, but that he had reliable information that some hundreds of houses had been burned and other property destroyed in the southern part of the county, and that if he would go there he would probably find the perpetrators. He tendered the general the hospitality of the city and invited him to stay at his house. The general, however, did not accept the invitation, but answered that he always stayed in camp.

The Temple, the Masonic Hall, the Nauvoo House and the stables of the Mansion House were then searched by General Hardin and his troops, for the ostensible purpose of finding the dead bodies spoken of. They found in the Masonic Hall, not dead bodies, but—about forty barrels of wild grape wine, which they fondly lingered about and devoted considerable attention to. While searching the stables of the Mansion House, they found where a quantity of blood had been spilled, and immediately summoned the landlord and demanded an explanation. He readily explained that a sick horse had been bled there, and showed them the horse. The general and Judge Douglas then thrust their swords into the manure, as if they expected to find dead bodies buried

there. A. W. Babbit, who stood by at the time, asked ironically if they thought the people of Nauvoo were so foolish as to bury dead bodies in the manure, when they could so easily throw them into the Mississippi River, which was but a few rods distant.

After the general and his troops had given up the search, they marched out and encamped on the south side of the city. Shortly afterwards a citizen named Caleb Baldwin was arrested and taken to the camp to be questioned in regard to crimes committed. Most of the questions asked him seemed to indicate that the officers were very anxious to learn where the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were buried. This would go to prove, as was doubtless the case, that one object of their visit to Nauvoo was to really find out the place of their burial.

Oct. 1, 1845, General J. J. Hardin, Judge Stephen A. Douglas and J. A. McDougal, attorney-general for the State, met in council with the leading men of Nauvoo. They conversed freely on the subject of the proposed removal, and Vancouver's Island and Oregon were suggested by the visitors as suitable places for the Saints to remove to. These officials afterwards requested by letter that the propositions be made out in writing that they might lay them before the governor and people of the State. In reply the council in Nauvoo sent them a copy of the propositions submitted to the committee from Quincy, and added, that preparations were being made to remove previous to the late disturbances, and that companies had been organized for that purpose; but they were hindered in their opera-

tions by the mobbing; that they were determined to go to some place so far distant that they should neither infringe nor be infringed upon; they would not sacrifice their property, nor give it away, nor suffer it to be illegally wrested from them, though they should not find purchasers. In conclusion they said: "If all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—we will leave them."

General Hardin received a communication from Governor Ford, in which he said:

"I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the State to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration.

"The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the State will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able.

"I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will coun-

sel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the State. It is acknowledged by me that the State has no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that they should do so voluntarily than to live in a state of continual war?"

General J. J. Hardin, under date of Oct. 1, 1845, wrote to President Young, requesting him to have a list made out in schedule form of the property of different kinds and its valuation, belonging to the Saints, which had been destroyed by the mob. A communication was also received by the council in Nauvoo from J. J. Hardin, Stephen A. Douglas, W. B. Warren and J. A. McDougal, stating that a meeting had been held in the State by the delegates from nine counties, the day previous, for the purpose of considering the case of the Latter-day Saints. At this meeting, they had understood, the proposition of the Saints to remove in the spring had been accepted. They stated that they were convinced that affairs had reached such a crisis that it was impossible for them to remain in the country. They confidently hoped and expected that the whole community would remove; but should they fail to do so, they added, "We are satisfied, however much we may deprecate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal, which will result in most disastrous consequences to yourselves and your opponents, and that the end will be your expulsion from the State."

In the Quincy *Whig* (a paper published in Quincy) of Oct. 1st, a number of resolutions passed by a mass meeting of citizens in that city were

published, which were to the effect that they were willing to accept the proposition of the Saints to remove from the State in the spring; that they believed the Saints to be a persecuted people, but that they considered their grievances "to be the legitimate consequences of their own conduct;" that it was too late to attempt to settle the difficulties in Hancock County except by causing the Saints to remove from the State; that in their opinion the desired progress could not be made in preparing the way for the removal of the "Mormons" while J. B. Backenstos remained sheriff of the county, and that he ought to resign his office; that the people generally should be advised to suspend all legal prosecutions for alleged offenses during the state of excitement which then existed; that in order to manifest their sympathy for the poor and suffering, a committee should be appointed in Quincy with a treasurer to receive subscriptions from all citizens disposed to help with their means, to aid the Saints in removing; that they should expect the old offending citizens of Hancock County to be allowed to return to their homes in peace without being arrested by the sheriff and prosecuted for their crimes, etc.

From this it will be seen that though the people of Quincy doubtless entertained more real friendship for the Saints than did those of any other city of the State opposed to them, they did not possess that determination to see justice maintained and innocence vindicated that they should have done. In fact they took the very course to encourage the enemies of the Saints to re-enact their bloody deeds on the first prov-

ocation. Notwithstanding the troubles through which the Saints were passing, they felt generally remarkably cheerful and united. They felt that they were in the hands of God, and they were willing to leave the State and journey forth into the wilderness, as they should be led, though they knew not where they should go to.

About this time Elder Orson Pratt issued two messages from New York to the Saints in the Eastern and Middle States, announcing the end of American liberty, as indicated in the movement to expel the Saints from Illinois, enumerated their sufferings and fervently appealed to all connected with the Church in those parts to gather out and assist in the defense of their brethren and sisters, and in relieving their sufferings.

On the 5th of October the Temple in Nauvoo was so far completed as to admit of a meeting being held in it. Just five and a half years had elapsed since the corner stone of the structure had been laid, during which time the Saints in their poverty had accomplished a most marvelous work in rearing it. No general conference of the Saints had been held for three years, the Prophet Joseph Smith having ordered that there should be no more baptisms for the dead until the ordinances could be attended to in the font of the Lord's House, and that the Church should not hold another general conference until they could do so in that house.

The Saints were now overjoyed at the prospect of meeting in conference on the morrow, and the Temple, so far as completed, was dedicated to the Lord as "a monument of the Saints' liberality, fidelity and faith."

The next day (Oct. 6th) the Saints assembled in general conference in the Temple. It was continued for three days, during which time much good instruction was given, the Saints were stimulated to prepare for their removal and the necessary steps to organize in companies for traveling. In presenting the names of the authorities of the Church to the people for their acceptance, William Smith as one of the Twelve Apostles and Patriarch was objected to by Elder Parley P. Pratt, who felt that he could not sustain him while he continued in the course he had lately been taking. William Smith was a very aspiring man and not very sincere withal. Though his brethren connected with him in the Priesthood had done all in their power to encourage him in remaining steadfast in the faith, he had persisted in trying to create disunion in their midst, and by advancing false doctrine had caused many to be disaffected. In fact his conduct for some time previous had been anything but such as a Saint's and especially an Apostle's should be. The motion to sustain him in his office was put to the assembly and no one could be found to vote for him. His office was therefore by unanimous vote taken from him, and on the following Sunday, proof having been received in the meantime of certain acts of his, he was cut off from the Church. (See page 45.)

President Brigham Young was continued as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the others of the Apostles, namely: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, George A.

Smith and Lyman Wight were each presented and sustained, with the exception of Lyman Wight, whose case was laid over until some of his actions could be investigated.

During this conference Lucy Smith, the aged mother of the Prophet and Patriarch, addressed the assembled multitude, and when she recounted the trials and persecutions she and her family suffered at the hands of their enemies, those who heard her were forced to shed tears. Especially was this the case when she related the account of a scene in Missouri when her son, Joseph Smith the Prophet, was condemned to be shot in fifteen minutes. For some time previous to this, Mother Smith, as she was familiarly called, had been opposed to removing with the Saints, and had stated that she preferred to remain where her husband and sons were buried. During the conference, however, she felt extremely fervent on the subject of the removal and expressed her willingness to go and her wish that her whole family might go and remain united with the Church. This caused a general feeling of rejoicing among the Saints, who by vote expressed their willingness to bring her remains back to Nauvoo, whenever she should die, and deposit them with those of her family buried there, according to her wish.

President Young informed the people that the Prophet had once said: "If I fall in battle in Missouri, I want you to bring my bones back and deposit them in that sepulchre—I command you to do it in the name of the Lord." The sepulchre spoken of was one the Prophet had prepared for that purpose on the Temple square, in Nauvoo. This expressed

wish had not been complied with by the Saints, because his widow had opposed it. President Young further said: "We are determined also to use every means in our power to do all that Joseph told us. And we will petition Sister Emma, in the name of Israel's God, to let us deposit the remains of Joseph according as he commanded; and if she will not consent to it, our garments are clear."

We may here remark that Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, never did consent to have this command of his carried out, though the Saints did all that they could reasonably to induce her to.

While the people were assembled in conference on the afternoon of the 7th of October, they were startled by receiving the intelligence that a body of armed men had just entered the city, and fearing that they might be a party of the mob come to create a surprise and disturbance, the meeting was adjourned till the next day, and the people were ordered to be ready to act on the defensive. It was soon afterwards ascertained that the party who had arrived were under command of Major Warren, and had come, as they said, to search the city for stolen property—though it was strongly suspected, and with good reason too, that such was not the real object of their visit. The alarm soon subsided, and those who had by this time sallied out with their fire-arms to defend themselves, returned peaceably to their homes. After searching about town a short time the party left, and a letter was shortly afterwards sent to Major Warren by the council of authorities in Nauvoo, explaining the slight excitement noticeable on their arrival

in the city as being due to the surprise they had given the citizens, and requesting him to give notice by letter or otherwise when he wished to make another such visit. In conclusion they added:

"In regard to searching for stolen property in Nauvoo, we have not the least objection to it, providing it be done in a legal manner, and we pledge ourselves to aid any legal officer in a lawful search any time; but we are opposed to men coming into our houses and taking away our individual property, which we have bought and paid for honestly, without either describing the property professed to be stolen or presenting lawful process, all of which we consider to be unconstitutional and oppressive, and calculated to put us to much unnecessary trouble and expense, as well as to defeat us in our efforts to move away next spring."

After the conference adjourned, President Young addressed a circular to the Saints scattered throughout the United States, calling upon them to gather up and assist in completing the Temple in Nauvoo, and receive their endowments there, a privilege for which the faithful Saints had so long and fervently prayed. He called upon them to dispose of their property not suitable to remove, and supply themselves with teams and such other property as they would need in commencing their long journey in the spring.

The Saints were not wholly unprepared for the opposition and persecution they had to meet, for it was only in fulfilment of the words of the Prophet. Joseph Smith had predicted that the persecutions should continue, and they should be forced to remove to the West. So that their enemies by persecuting them and compelling their removal, though it was not at all creditable to them, were literally fulfilling the words of the Prophet.

Affairs in the county now remained in a very unsettled condition. It was expected that Sheriff Backenstos would be tried at Quincy for the killing of the desperado Worrell, or rather for ordering him killed. The willingness of the sheriff to submit to trial was evinced in a letter he wrote to Nauvoo, in which he stated ironically: "I expect to go to Quincy for the purpose of paying my respects to Judge Purple and having a great man discharge me from the awful crime of killing one of our best citizens (?), to wit, Lieut. Worrell. What an unpleasant loss to this great republic! Had he lived, might he not have excelled even L. W. Boggs, of Missouri?" Backenstos afterwards went to Quincy and underwent his examination, when he was bound over for trial at the next session of court.

During all this time the organizing of companies was progressing, and preparations were being made by the Saints for bravely facing the hardships they would have to encounter on their journey. The food they were counseled to take with them did not consist of any great luxuries, but on the contrary, plain, strong food, calculated to sustain life and keep up their strength on their journey.

The feeling in Nauvoo at this time was not one of safety by any means, so far as the power and disposition of the enemy was considered, for it was currently reported that General Hardin had pledged himself to the mob to go to Nauvoo with his troops and arrest several of the citizens there, or "unroof every house in Nauvoo" in trying it. Also that 300 men from Quincy had volunteered to help him, and they ex-

pected to be joined on the road by others.

October 21, 1845, Judge Purple held court in Carthage, and displayed so much prejudice against the Saints and favor for the mobbers, that Sheriff Backenstos expressed himself in speaking of his doings as being thoroughly disgusted with such "judicial humbugs." One case brought up for trial was that of two brethren, Jesse P. Harmon and John Lyttle, charged with being engaged in destroying the press and fixtures of the *Expositor*, the contemptible libelous paper formerly published in Nauvoo. A man named Rollison was the principal witness against them. He professed to know all about the proceedings of abating the nuisance and described the manner in which it was done. When asked whether it was Appleton M. Harmon or Jesse P. Harmon who was guilty, he replied that it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he became confused and said he could not tell which it was. He was then asked which of the brothers Lyttle—John or Andrew—was the guilty one. He replied again, it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he said it was the blacksmith. It happened that they were both blacksmiths, so that he could not fix the crime upon either of them, and the jury acquitted them. This was in accordance with the prediction of the Prophet Joseph, who said, when it was reported to him that the policeman had abated the nuisance, that not one of them should be harmed for what they had done in the matter.

On the night of October 23rd one of the men under command of Ma-

Major Warren was shot under the following circumstances:

A man by the name of Nathan Bigelow, who lived at Camp Creek, was ordered by a party of the mob to leave his house, as they were coming to burn it down. He sent his son to Nauvoo for help, from which place he went to Carthage and informed Major Warren of the facts. Major Warren replied that he had no men to send, and that the young man had better return to his father and tell him to defend his house as best he could, and call upon his neighbors to assist him. Soon after the son started on his return, however, Major Warren did dispatch five men to assist Bigelow in the defense of his house. They arrived at the place about 11 o'clock at night, in advance of the son, and immediately attempted to force an entrance at the door without knocking. Bigelow, supposing the mob had come to attack him, asked repeatedly who were there and what was wanted, but received no reply from the men outside. He then warned them that he would shoot if they opened the door. The men still, seemingly regardless of the consequences, continued to force at the door till they effected an entrance, when Bigelow discharged a pistol and musket at the leading man, Lieutenant Edwards, taking effect in his hip and breast. The men then, when too late, informed Bigelow that they were the governor's troops and had come to assist him. Of course, sorrow was then expressed at the occurrence, and the wounded man was well cared for. Though Bigelow could scarcely be blamed for what he did, as he acted with as much caution as the circumstances would

warrant, he was arrested and taken to Carthage for trial.

Before Judge Purple, whose court was being held at Carthage, the Saints could not hope to obtain redress for their wrongs, as he utterly refused to hear any evidence in their favor. Governor Ford, General Hardin and other State officers, having promised that justice should be administered in the case of those whose property had been destroyed, and who had otherwise suffered from the depredations of the mob, quite a number of the brethren left their families destitute and journeyed to Carthage to give in their testimony as witnesses against the house-burners. The grand jury refused to hear their testimony or to admit any of them into the jury room, thereby adding insult to injury, for notwithstanding the promises made, their claims for justice were wholly ignored. Thus the men who were guilty were shielded, while many of them were in the ranks of the State troops at Carthage, and others roaming at large, still threatening the lives of peaceable citizens and burning houses and other buildings wherever they had opportunity of doing so and escaping.

In view of the threatening aspect of the mob, and the apparent indifference of the State officers to protect the Saints, a number of men from Nauvoo were stationed at certain distances apart between that place and Carthage, to express news of any hostile demonstrations on the part of the mob to Nauvoo.

On the 25th Major Warren, Judge Purple, J. B. Backenstos and Judge Ralston, with a body of troops, arrived in Nauvoo, and Major Warren immediately demanded an explana-

tion of the movements of the expressmen, several of whom he saw on the prairie while he was on his way to Nauvoo. President Young mildly informed him why they had been sent out, when Major Warren became enraged and declared that he would issue a manifesto and place the county under martial law. His language aroused the indignation of Elder John Taylor, who listened to him, and who had scarcely recovered from the severe wounds he had received at the time when Joseph and Hyrum were assassinated. He replied to Major Warren in a very forcible manner, telling him that the treachery of the State officers in the past towards the Saints had caused them to be suspicious of their pretended protection, and they had placed the expressmen out there to communicate at once the news of any hostile movements, that the citizens might be better able to defend themselves in case of attack, as well as to help those of their brethren who were at Carthage being tried. In conclusion he said:

"We lack confidence in the governor's troops under your command, and while hundreds of murderers, robbers and house-burners roam at large, unwhipped of justice, we shall take measures to protect ourselves. I, sir, have been shot all to pieces under the protection of the governor's troops. Our leading men have been murdered in Carthage, and we shall not trust ourselves unprotected again until the State gives some evidence, more than it has done, of its justice and humane intentions to enforce its laws."

Judge Purple begged of him not to talk on such an exciting topic. Elder Taylor then changed the subject by ordering wine for the company, of which all partook except Major Warren.

The officers and troops did not tarry long in Nauvoo, and after they

left, the council of authorities dispatched E. A. Bedell, Esq., and Bishop George Miller with a communication to his Excellency Thomas Ford, governor of the State, in which they informed him of the threat of Major Warren to declare martial law, and implored him to dismiss the troops under his command, as the Saints had more to fear from them than from the mob at large, although the latter still continued their depredations.

Bishop George Miller and Mr. Bedell traveled day and night to reach Springfield and present to Governor Ford the petition from the council in Nauvoo, for the removal of the armed forces from the county. The governor received them kindly, and after perusing the communication of which they were the bearers, he read to them a number of letters he had received from individuals in Hancock County and other parts of the State, urging the necessity of keeping a force stationed there all winter. He deplored the condition of the country, and stated that he considered the people of the State generally a mob, and that he could not trust them to act in any emergency where the Saints as a community were a party. He was willing to acknowledge that justice had not been done to the Saints, but he was afraid to exercise the power which by virtue of his office belonged to him, because, as he said, if he should exert the executive influence in behalf of the Saints as he ought to do, it would result in his own overthrow as well as that of the Saints. He finally promised to go to Hancock County and endeavor to pacify the mob and maintain order until the Saints could leave in the spring; and after that,

bring those who were guilty of murdering, mobbing and house-burning to justice.

After Major Warren and his troops had left Nauvoo on the occasion of his threatening to place the county under martial law, it was ascertained that among his party was a deputy marshal from Iowa, who had come to Illinois with a demand on the governor for the Twelve Apostles of the Church. A certain Dr. Abiather Williams, who had the unenviable reputation of being a counterfeiter, had been before one of the judges of Iowa and sworn that the Twelve Apostles had made "bogus" money in his house. On his testimony an order was issued for their arrest, and the deputy marshal was sent to Nauvoo for that purpose. The real intention of Major Warren in making his visit to Nauvoo with his troops, was to assist in making these arrests, but they were deterred from doing so by the animated speech of Elder John Taylor.

The authorities of the Church had been harassed so much with trumped-up charges which, like this, had no foundation in truth, that they were not surprised at it. However, as it was reported that a larger force was being obtained, with which the officers would again visit Nauvoo and make the arrests, the accused men secreted themselves where they were not likely to be found, to save themselves the vexation of arrest, trial and probable incarceration, such as they had undergone before on false charges.

On the evening of the 27th Major Warren sought and obtained an interview with President Young and the Twelve Apostles. His feelings towards the Saints seemed to have

changed somewhat. He acknowledged that the object of his last visit to Nauvoo with his troops was to make the arrests spoken of, but he now considered it unjust to serve the writs, as it would hinder the arrangements of the Saints to remove. As a proof of his sincerity, he stated that he was going to Springfield the next day, and one part of his business there was to induce his relatives and friends to remove to Nauvoo and purchase farms from the Saints.

From the encouragement the mob had received in being allowed to go free of punishment after the committal of their many crimes, it was not to be expected that they would cease their deeds of violence. At Camp Creek about thirty of them surrounded the house of Samuel Hicks at midnight, called Mr. Hicks out of his bed and stated that they were the governor's troops direct from Carthage. Without allowing him to clothe himself they forced him away; after which, though both his wife and child were at the time sick with the ague, they were allowed scarcely time to get out of the house and remove a few of their household goods, when the house was fired. After the flames had burst through the roof and made such progress that it was not possible for him to quench them, Hicks, chilled through with the cold night air, and shaking with the ague, was set at liberty by the mob, and allowed to return to the smoking ruins of his house, while the mob went their way. Another house was also fired in the same vicinity, about the same time. The statement of the mob that they were the governor's troops was probably not true, as a number of them were recognized as old mobbers.

Shortly afterwards a party of them appeared at midnight in the Green plains precinct, and set a straw stack, the property of Solomon Hancock, on fire, and then concealed themselves near by. When the owner of the stack and a number of others rallied to the scene to extinguish the fire, the mob shot at them and killed Elder Edmund Durfee, an old member of the Church, and one of the most inoffensive men in the country. Though the bullets flew thick and fast around the others, none of them were hurt in the least. Some of the mob engaged in the tragic affair, afterwards boasted that they had shot Durfee in order to win a wager of a gallon of whisky, that the stack had been set on fire to cause an alarm and draw the men out, and that by killing him they had won the whisky.

News of the actions of the mob was immediately sent to Major Warren, and his interference requested. He evinced considerable energy in hunting up the guilty parties, and actually followed one man into Missouri to arrest him. Notwithstanding the governor's boast that the troops were saving the Saints from total destruction, Major Warren acknowledged to Sheriff Backenstos that the killing of Durfee never would have occurred had the troops not been in the county. Though no evidence was wanting to convict the men who were guilty of the deed, as several of the brethren who were witnesses of the scene were summoned and appeared at the court at the examination of the case to give in their testimony, and the affidavits of others were sent, in accordance with a previous request of the State attorney, the trial resulted in just such a farce as the many previous

ones had done, where the Saints were the injured parties. Their testimony was unheeded and the case was dismissed without even a grand jury having been summoned.

The labors of the Saints about this time were mainly for the accomplishment of two objects: the finishing of the Temple and preparing to remove in the spring. Wagon-shops were established all over the city, and every available wheelwright, as well as carpenters and cabinet-makers, and a great many others who had never worked before at either business, were employed at making wagons. Green timber in large quantities was cut and hauled into the city, where it was "seasoned" ready for being made up by being boiled in salt water or dried in kilns. Iron was obtained from all parts of the country to fit them up, and blacksmiths were engaged day and night working at them. Many of the wagons made were rude affairs, not so nicely painted and ironed as those now in common use; in fact, but very little iron, so necessary an element in their manufacture, was used in the construction of many of them, it being so exceedingly scarce. Many were actually made without iron for tires, hoops of wood being used instead.

After the strenuous and unremitting exertions of the Saints for upwards of five years to build the Temple in Nauvoo, they were highly gratified at having a portion of the house so far completed as to admit of the holy ordinances of the Church being administered in it. During the month of December, 1845, a great many persons received their endowments there.

The efforts of the Saints to find

purchasers for their property were generally unavailing. Quite a number of delegates from Catholic churches of different cities and other associations visited Nauvoo, and talked strongly of purchasing or leasing the Temple and other public buildings, and most of them expressed their admiration of the Temple, the beautiful city and its surroundings. But their visits generally terminated with a promise on their part to further consider the question of purchase, and, though the terms offered by the Saints were liberal, only one half the valuation of like property similarly situated in other parts of the country being asked, the agents or delegates seldom went farther in the matter than to examine the property and talk of purchasing or leasing.

Some little excitement was caused at Nauvoo, in the early part of December, 1845, by the receipt of news from Washington that the Secretary of War and several other Cabinet officers at the Capital were determined to prevent, if possible, the Saints from moving westward. They fancied they could do so on the plea that it was contrary to law for an armed force to remove from the United States to the dominion of any other government. The rumor then was that the Saints would probably locate in California or Oregon, the territory of which at that time belonged to the dominion of Mexico. President Young told the people that they would go in spite of all the efforts of officers and others to prevent them, as he felt that the Lord would deliver the Saints in the future as He had done in the past.

Conciliatory letters were written from Nauvoo to Stephen A. Douglas

and several other members of Congress to secure their influence in opposition to this movement to prevent the removal of the Saints. Several times during the month of December, officers visited Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting President Young and members of the Twelve Apostles, but those brethren managed to elude them, and in order to do so were forced to disguise themselves on several occasions. On the 23rd of December the famous "Bogus Brigham" arrest was made concerning which President Young subsequently related the following:

"By the time we were at work in the Nauvoo Temple, officiating in the ordinances, the mob had learned that 'Mormonism' was not dead as they had supposed. We had completed the walls of the Temple, and the attic story from about half way up of the first windows, in about fifteen months. It went up like magic, and we commenced officiating in the ordinances. Then the mob commenced to hunt for other victims; they had already killed the Prophets Joseph and Hyrum in Carthage jail, while under the pledge of the State for their safety, and now they wanted Brigham, the President of the Twelve Apostles, who were then acting as the Presidency of the Church.

"I was in my room in the Temple; it was in the southeast corner of the upper story. I learned that a *posse* was lurking around the Temple and that the United States Marshal was waiting for me to come down, whereupon I knelt down and asked my Father in Heaven, in the name of Jesus, to guide and protect me that I might live to prove advantageous to the Saints. I arose from my knees and sat down in my chair; there came a rap at my door. I said, 'Come in;' and Brother George D. Grant, who was then engaged driving my carriage and doing chores for me, entered the room. Said he, 'Brother Brigham, do you know that a *posse* and the United States Marshal are here?' I told him I had heard so. On entering the room Brother Grant left the door open. Nothing came into my mind what to do, until looking directly across the hall I saw Brother William Miller leaning against the wall. As I stepped towards the door I beckoned to him; he came. Said I to him, 'Brother William, the marshal is here for

me; will you go and do just as I tell you? If you will, I will serve them a trick.' I knew that Brother Miller was an excellent man, perfectly reliable and capable of carrying out my project. Said I, 'Here take my cloak;' but it happened to be Brother Heber C. Kimball's; our cloaks were alike in color, fashion and size. I threw it around his shoulders and told him to wear my hat and accompany Brother George D. Grant. He did so. I said to Brother Grant, 'George, you step into the carriage and look towards Brother Miller, and say to him, as though you were addressing me, 'Are you ready to ride?' You can do this and they will suppose Brother Miller to be me, and proceed accordingly, which they did.

"Just as Brother Miller was entering the carriage the marshal stepped up to him and placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, 'You are my prisoner.' Brother William entered the carriage and said to the marshal, 'I am going to the Mansion House, won't you ride with me?' They both went to the Mansion House. There were my sons Joseph A. and Brigham jun., Brother Heber C. Kimball's boys, and others who were looking on, and all seemed at once to understand and partake of the joke. They followed the carriage to the Mansion House and gathered around Brother Miller, with tears in their eyes, saying, 'Father, or President Young, where are you going?' Brother Miller looked at them kindly, but made no reply; and the marshal really thought he had got 'Brother Brigham.'

"Lawyer Edmonds, who was then staying at the Mansion House, appreciating the joke, volunteered to Brother Miller to go to Carthage with him and see him safe through. When they arrived within two or three miles of Carthage, the marshal with his posse stopped. They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, and, like a tribe of Indians going into battle, or as if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shouting, they exclaimed, 'We've got him; we've got him! we've got him!' When they reached Carthage the marshal took the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same time telling those around that he had got him. Brother Miller remained in the room until they bid him come to supper. While there, parties came in, one after the other, and asked for Brigham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. So it continued, until an apostate Mormon by the name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, came in, sat down and asked the landlord where Brigham Young was. The land-

lord, pointing across the table to Brother Miller said, 'That is Mr. Young.' Thatcher replied, 'Where? I can't see any one that looks like Brigham.'—The landlord told him it was that fat, fleshy man eating. 'Oh, h—!' exclaimed Thatcher, 'that's not Brigham, that is William Miller, one of my old neighbors.' Upon hearing this the landlord went and, tapping the sheriff on the shoulder, took him a few steps to one side and said, 'You have made a mistake, that is not Brigham Young, it is William Miller, of Nauvoo.' The marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed, 'Good heavens! and he passed for Brigham.' He then took Brother Miller into a room, and turning to him said, 'What in h—! is the reason you did not tell me your name?' Brother Miller replied, 'You have not asked me my name?' 'Well,' said the sheriff, with another oath, 'What is your name?' 'My name,' he replied, 'is William Miller.' Said the marshal, 'I thought your name was Brigham Young. Do you say this for a fact?' 'Certainly I do,' said Brother Miller. 'Then,' said the marshal, 'Why did you not tell me this before?' 'I was under no obligations to tell you,' replied Brother Miller, 'as you did not ask me.' Then the marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by Brother Miller, who walked off in company with Lawyer Edmonds, Sheriff Backenstos and others, who took him across lots to a place of safety; and this is the real pith of the story of 'Bogus Brigham,' as far as I can recollect."

Dec 27, 1845, a United States deputy marshal appeared to again search for the Twelve and others. He was allowed to search every part of the Temple, in viewing which and the city from the tower he expressed his gratification with what he saw. He, however, had to leave without effecting the object of his search, as those for whom he sought knew from past experience that the easiest and cheapest way to secure justice for themselves was to keep out of the power of officers whose chief aim was to convict and punish the Saints, whether cause of complaint against them existed or not, and they accordingly kept out of their way.

Jan. 4, 1846, Governor Ford wrote a lengthy letter to Sheriff Backen-

stos, in which he made a great effort to impress the idea that he had not instituted the late attempt to arrest the Church authorities in Nauvoo, nor aided in it by furnishing troops to accompany the marshal. He stated that it was purely a U. S. government affair in which he took no official part, and that he refused, when requested by the marshal, to furnish troops. He expressed his belief that the government would prevent the removal of the Saints westward of the Rocky Mountains, as they would be sure to "join the British" and be more trouble to the United States than ever. He indulged in forebodings and speculations as to the result of the Saints being brought into collision with the government, and thought it not unlikely that the leaders of the Church would have to separate from the people and become fugitives in the earth, or submit to a trial on their indictments.

Jan. 20, 1846, the High Council of the Church issued from Nauvoo a circular to the members of the Church generally and others, in which was announced the intention of the authorities to send out a company of young, hardy man as pioneers, early in the month of March, to make their way westward, until they could find a location in some valley in the region of the Rocky Mountains, where they could plant seed and raise a crop, build houses, and prepare for the reception of the families who were to start as early in the spring as the grass would be grown sufficiently to sustain the teams and stock that would be taken. The place they should select would be made a resting place for the Saints until a permanent location

could be decided upon. The statement that had been circulated, to the effect that the Saints had become alienated from their country and dissatisfied with the form of government of the United States, was denied; and it was stated that:

"Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."

At that time settlements were being made in Oregon by the United States, and it was thought probable that the government would establish a line of forts along the route from the Missouri River to those settlements. In case this should be done, the Saints hoped to have the work of building to do, as they would probably be near the route, and on that account be able to do it to better advantage than others; and the proceeds of their employment would relieve their necessities.

It was decided that those able to start and owning teams and other things required should do so as early as possible, and A. W. Babbitt, Jos. L. Heywood, John S. Fullmer, Henry W. Miller and John M. Bernhisel were appointed a committee to dispose of the property of the Saints. As fast as sales of property could be made, the means obtained were to be devoted to helping out those who, for the lack of the necessary outfit to leave with, would remain.

During the month of January the probability that the Saints would encounter trouble in leaving seemed to grow stronger every day. The

rumor reached Nauvoo from Washington that the officers of the government would intercept them on their way and take all their firearms, so that if they were determined to go they might go defenseless. President Young counseled those of the people who were prepared to leave to keep themselves in readiness to start on a few hours' notice.

Elder Samuel Brannan, having chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, set sail from New York for California Feb. 4, 1846, with about 230 souls on board, mostly Saints. (See *The Ship Brooklyn*.)

The work of administering the holy ordinances in the Temple continued almost incessantly, day and night, up to the 7th of February, the people being so anxious in this respect that they seemed almost unwilling to have President Young and the Twelve depart, as in that case their privileges would cease. A few days, previous the removal of the Saints was commenced. (See *Journeyings in the Wilderness*.) President Brigham Young and others, with their families, left Nauvoo Feb. 15, 1846.

During the month of February, 1846, while those who had started from Nauvoo on their westward journey were encamped on Sugar Creek, news reached them of a movement in New York, set in operation for the purpose of swindling them out of the homes they expected to acquire on reaching their destination in the west. According to letters received from Samuel Brannan, who had been acting as agent for the Church in New York, it appeared that a number of men, among whom were Amos Kendall, formerly Postmaster-

General of the United States, and A. G. Benson, had conspired to raise the impression that the government had the power and right, and would exercise the same, to disarm the Saints, prevent their movement westward and cause them to disperse. They had convinced Brannan that this was really the case, and also that they possessed the necessary influence to avert the calamity, and were willing to do so on certain conditions. The conditions were that if the Saints should be allowed to pursue their journey without molestation from the government, they, on reaching their destination, should deed one half of their landed possessions—every alternate lot or section—to this combination of men, among whom, as they represented, was the President of the United States, though his name was not to be used in the matter. Elder Brannan, in his zeal and anxiety to save the Church from trouble, allowed these men to draw up an article of agreement, containing the above stipulations, which he signed on the part of the Church, and A. G. Benson for the other party, and then forwarded it to Nauvoo to have it sanctioned by the leading men of the Church, in order to have it ratified.

This effort to defraud the Saints was so transparent that President Young, and the prominent men of the camp, to whom the matter was submitted, readily saw through it; and notwithstanding that Elder Brannan seemed so sanguine that the intentions of the schemers were honest, and had in good faith attached his signature to it, the authorities of the Church were not so credulous, and accordingly the document never received their sanction.

President Young and a few others of the camp returned to Nauvoo on the 18th of February and remained there during the following Sunday to preach to and encourage those who remained in the city. During the meeting considerable excitement was caused by the floor of the Temple, in which they were assembled, settling a little, with a cracking sound. The consternation which ensued was intense, and two men—apostates—who were in the assembly, were so overcome by fear that they actually jumped out of the window, which resulted in one of them breaking his leg and the other his arm, besides smashing the glass of the window in making their hasty exit. President Young tried in vain to allay the fears of the people and explain to them the cause of alarm, and finally adjourned the meeting to the grove near by, though the snow covered the ground to the depth of a foot.

Preparations for the removal westward continued. The work on the Temple was also prosecuted, and the greatest anxiety of the Saints seemed to be to complete that edifice as far as possible, and prepare an outfit for their journey. There were a great many apostates there who continued to do all in their power to create disunion, but their influence was limited. The Saints generally were united in trying to carry out the counsel given them by President Young previous to starting. Quite a number of men who had formerly been prominent in the Church and turned away through transgression were endeavoring to create schisms. John E. Page, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, was very bitter in his denunciation of the authorities of the Church, and in a public speech

to the people of Nauvoo advised them to accept J. J. Strang, another apostate, as their leader. Strang had succeeded in raising quite a number of followers, and indeed a certain class of persons who had been members of the Church and who had not the Spirit of God, were ready to listen to and believe the false doctrines of any person who might start out with a pretended new revelation from God to lead them. In illustration of this it may be mentioned that about the time of which we write, a man named C. W. Wandell wrote an article purporting to be a revelation from God to J. J. Strang and sent it to one of his followers to see what effect it would have among those of his class. This man read it in a public meeting, and testified that he knew it was from the Lord, and it was immediately accepted by the others as a direct revelation from the Lord; but Wandell, seeing the credence it gained, informed them that he was the author of it, that Strang never saw it, and that the Lord had nothing to do with it.

Wandell was very much to blame for this deception. His attempt to deceive the people by the false use of the name of the Lord was sinful and blasphemous. He, himself, soon after lost the Spirit of the Lord and fell into darkness, and though some years afterwards he renewed his covenants and went on missions, he again lost his standing and was, the last we heard of him, an opponent to the Church.

Luke Johnson, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, who had for some time been out of the Church, confessed his error about this time, in a public meeting in Nauvoo, and ex-

pressed a desire to again connect himself with the Church, and journey with them in the wilderness. He accordingly renewed his covenants. (See page 43.)

Apostle Orson Hyde continued to labor in Nauvoo after the other members of his quorum had left for the wilderness. The care and responsibility which rested upon him at that time were very great. The Saints were surrounded by enemies who only wanted the least pretext to pounce upon and mob and murder them. Many of them were very poor, and were anxiously trying to dispose of what little property they had for means to buy them an outfit. Under these circumstances it required great diligence, wisdom and vigilance on his part, as well as on the part of the Elders associated with him, to attend to the necessary public duties and to avoid difficulty. Then there was the Temple to complete, so that it could be dedicated to the Lord and be accepted by Him. He had commanded that it should be built, and until it was built the baptisms for the dead, performed elsewhere, were to be acceptable unto Him. But if, after the Saints had had sufficient time to build a house to the Lord, they did not fulfil this commandment, they were to be rejected as a Church, with their dead. In the revelation which was given upon this subject, the Lord explained how the labors of His servants and people—even when they did not complete a Temple which He might command them to erect—might be acceptable to Him. He said:

“Verily, verily I say unto you, that when I give a commandment to any of the sons of men, to do a work unto my name, and those sons of men go with all their might, and with all they have, to perform that work,

and cease not their diligence, and their enemies come upon them, and hinder them from performing that work; behold, it behoveth me to require that work no more at the hands of those sons of men, but to accept of their offerings; and the iniquity and transgression of my holy laws and commandments I will visit upon the heads of those who hindered my work, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord God. Therefore for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and a house unto my name in Jackson County, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God: and I will answer judgment, wrath, and indignation, wailing and anguish, and gnashing of teeth upon their heads, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord your God. And this I make an example unto you, for your consolation concerning all those who have been commanded to do a work, and have been hindered by the hands of their enemies, and by oppression, saith the Lord your God.” (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124, Verses 49-53.)

The Saints could possibly have excused themselves by this revelation for not doing any more work on the Temple, after their enemies had come upon them and by violence compelled them to promise to leave their homes. But this was not the feeling of President Young and his brethren. They were determined to do all in their power to finish the house. From the time of their return to Nauvoo, after the death of the Prophet Joseph, until they were compelled to leave there, they had worked unceasingly on the Temple. The labor that was performed on that building in fifteen or sixteen months after their return was marvellous, when the means are considered with which it had to be done. Within that space of time the greater part of the walls were built, the roof was put on, the tower was erected, the upper rooms were finished, and many of the Saints received their en-

dowments therein. But not satisfied with this, though they had to leave Nauvoo themselves, instructions were given to prosecute the work of finishing the house, and all the means that could be spared was devoted to that object. Elder Orson Hyde had the pleasure of announcing to President Young by letter, that on the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Soon after this the mobbers renewed their hostile operations against the remnant of the Saints who still lingered at Nauvoo. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made upon the city, which could scarcely muster 123 efficient men, but after several days' bombardment, the mob succeeded, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1846, in driving the people, helpless and destitute of nearly everything, across the Mississippi River into Iowa. (See *The Battle of Nauvoo*.)

Language can scarcely convey a correct idea of the sufferings endured by these fugitives from Nauvoo in their hurried flight to escape the tortures of the mob, who seemed so bent on disregarding the stipulations of the unjust treaty that had been forced upon them. Many camped across the river on the opposite bank from Nauvoo and others scattered off in different directions, sheltering themselves as best they could; some forming rude tents with quilts or blankets, and others being only able to cover themselves with a bower made of brush. To add to their misery what little clothing they possessed was, for a great portion of the time, drenched with rain, and instances have been related by persons living who passed through those

scenes of their having for days watched at the bedside of the dying while they could only afford a partial shelter to the prostrate form by holding milk-pans over it, to catch the falling rain as it dripped through the thin wagon cover. Some of the most influential men among them visited cities in the adjoining States and asked aid from the able and generous, for those of their brethren and sisters whose sufferings they tried to depict. By this means partial relief was obtained for some, but the majority of the sufferers were unable to better their condition until they had slowly worked their way into Iowa or Missouri and obtained employment of some kind, or were helped by teams sent back by those who had previously left Nauvoo.

The condition of the Saints at Nauvoo strongly excited the sympathies of the Camp of Israel at Winter Quarters (see *Journeyings in the Wilderness*), and teams and means were freely contributed and sent back to aid them. A number of these teams arrived on the bank of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, Oct. 7, 1846, and on the 9th the camp of the poor was organized and started for the West. Previous to this a number had scattered up and down the river, some going to St. Louis and others to Burlington, but all who wished to move westward had the opportunity offered them, and they were brought on to the main camp by the teams which had been sent back.

During the time when the Saints were suffering privation and exposure after their final expulsion from Nauvoo, they were visited by the late General Thomas L. Kane, who was impressed with the condition of

the Saints and the injustice of the acts of their enemies. A more true and striking picture in language could hardly be drawn than that given by him in a historical address some years afterwards, of the scenes he there witnessed. We quote a portion of it:

"A few years ago, ascending the Upper Mississippi in the autumn, when its waters were low, I was compelled to travel by land past the region of the Rapids. My road lay through the Half-breed Tract, a fine section of Iowa, which the unsettled state of its land-titles had appropriated as a sanctuary for coiners, horse-thieves and other outlaws. I had left my steamer at Keokuk, at the foot of the Lower Falls, to hire a carriage, and to contend for some fragments of a dirty meal with the swarming flies, the only scavengers of the locality.

"From this place to where the deep water of the river returns, my eye wearied to see everywhere sordid, vagabond and idle settlers, and a country marred, without being improved by their careless hands. I was descending the last hill-side upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half encircled by a bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill, which was crowned by a noble marble edifice, whose high tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles, and beyond it, in the background, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The unmistakable marks of industry, enterprise and educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty. It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved ways: rains had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went

into empty workshops, rope-walks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle, the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold, but his coal heap and ladling pool and crooked water horn were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work-people anywhere looked to know my errand.

"If I went into the garden, clinking the wicket-latch loudly after me, to pull the marigolds, heartsease and lady-slippers and draw a drink with the water-sodden well-bucket and its noisy chain, or, knocking off with my stick the tall, heavy-headed dahlias and sunflowers, hunted over the beds for cucumbers and love-apples—no one called out to me from any opened window, or dog sprang forward to bark an alarm.

"I could have supposed the people hidden in the houses, but the doors were unfastened, and when, at last, I timidly entered them, I found dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to tread a-tiptoe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid arousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors.

"On the outskirts of the town was the city graveyard; but there was no record of plague there, nor did it in anywise differ much from other Protestant American cemeteries. Some of the mounds were not long sodded; some of the stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly dried lettering ink. Beyond the graveyard, out in the fields, I saw, in one spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly torn down, the still smouldering embers of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from the fencing around it. It was the latest sign of life there. Fields upon fields of heavy-headed yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest.

"As far as the eye could reach, they stretched away—they, sleeping too, in the hazy air of autumn. Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the eastern suburb the houses looking out upon the country showed, by their splintered woodwork and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men

were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. These challenged me to render an account of myself and why I had had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

"Though these men were generally, more or less, under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told the story of the Dead City; that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and had finally been successful only a few days before my visit, in an action fought in front of the ruined suburb; after which, they had driven them forth at the point of the sword. The defense, they said, had been obstinate, but gave way on the third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly of their prowess, especially in this battle, as they called it; but I discovered they were not of one mind as to certain of the exploits that had distinguished it, one of which, as I remember, was, that they had slain a father and his son, a boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fated city, whom they admitted to have borne a character without reproach.

"They also conducted me inside the massive walls of the curious Temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed, and various sheltered chambers, in one of which was a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a dreadful design. Besides these, they led me to see a large and deep-chiselled marble vase or basin, supported upon twelve oxen, also of marble, and of the size of life, of which they told some romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, most of whom were emigrants from a great distance, believed their Deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents 'went into the water' for their lost children, children for their parents, widows for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers; that thus the Great Vase came to be for them associated with all

dear and distant memories, and was therefore the object, of all others in the building, to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account, the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

"They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple, to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before; and to look out, east and south, on wasted farms like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. Here, in the face of pure day, close to the scar of the divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a bass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain.

"It was after nightfall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I headed higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

"Here, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle, in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street vendors of apples and peanuts, and which, flaring and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious, remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow, awkwardly-measured sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed. A toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes—he, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of

two little girls, who were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

"Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grand parents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons, famishing in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Ill. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who stopped their plows, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles and their workshop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread; these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their Temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of their dying.

"I think it was as I turned from the wretched night-watch of which I have spoken, that I first listened to the sounds of revel of a party of the guard within the city. Above the distant hum of the voices of many occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into the high belfry in the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivariic unison their loud-tongued steamboat bell.

"They were, all told, not more than 640 persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over 20,000. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful trains their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another

home. Hardly anything else was known of them; and people asked with curiosity, 'What had been their fate—what their fortune?'"

At the time the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo, those who took part with them, or were friendly with them, and who were termed by the mob "Jack-Mormons," also had to leave. Immediately after their expulsion, this class of persons appealed to Governor Ford to use his influence to reinstate them in their possessions. The governor all at once grew valiant, summoned a *posse* of 140 men, and marched into and took possession of Nauvoo. Whether he did this from a desire to see justice meted out to at least a portion of the innocent citizens of Nauvoo, or with a view to display his authority in an ostentatious manner, and hoping to make it appear to the public that he was not, nor ever had been, remiss in attending to his duties, we will not say; but he certainly did not act with becoming dignity while in Nauvoo, for he spent a great portion of his time carousing with the leading members of the mob party there. But though he might have been in favor of and on friendly terms with them, the mob forces generally did not feel so well towards him, for the favor he had shown the "Jack-Mormons." The mob held a meeting in Carthage, at which resolutions were passed to the effect that as soon as the governor's troops should leave Nauvoo the "Jack-Mormons" should be again expelled and even "less tenderly than they were before." These resolutions were published in their organs, the *Warsaw Signal* and the *Quincy Whig*. A few days subsequently the mob held a meeting in Nauvoo and warned the "Jack-Mormons" that they must

sell out their property to them at some agreed valuation and then leave the city, or they would again expel them. The "Jack-Mormons," however, did not seem disposed to accept the terms, but preferred running the risk of being driven. Ten women, representing themselves as a "committee of the anti-Mormon women of Hancock County," waited upon Governor Ford, and presented him with a package, which, when opened, proved to contain a petticoat, expressive of the contempt in which they held him. The action of the governor did not make matters any better for the sale of the property of the Saints in Nauvoo, for the disposal of which A. W. Babbitt, J. L. Heywood and J. S. Fullmer remained in Nauvoo. Though they had still some hopes of being able to sell or lease the Temple and some other property, there was poor encouragement for them to stay there longer, when they saw how little influence for good the governor wielded, and the still rapid disposition of the mob.

The History of Hancock County says:

"After those people (the Saints) left, an entire new class of citizens appeared from all parts of the country and from Europe. * * * In the year 1848, M. Etienne Cabet, a distinguished French communist, conceived the idea of establishing in America an experimental colony of their sect. Accordingly a number of them were landed at New Orleans, who proceeded to establish in Texas what he termed an Icarian Community. But Texas not being deemed suitable, it was decided to remove and settle at Nauvoo. In the spring of 1849, a company of them, to the number of 75 or 100, settled in that city, and during the ten years that followed, continued their organization there, under the presidency and management of their eminent leader. During their stay in that city they increased by accessions to between 500 and 600.

"Without undertaking to state correctly the principles of their organization, we may say that their chief tenet seemed to be a community of property and interests. While their family relations were kept up, each maintaining a separate household, all were required to eat at the same table, and to contribute of his and her labor to the common fund. The children were regarded rather as the wards of the Community than of the parents, and were required to be taught in the same school and with the same care and attention.

"They purchased the Temple Block and the remains of the structure,* and were about to repair it, so as to make it habitable, when a storm blew it down. Afterward, from its ruins, they constructed a long, low stone building, which was used for the school. The Community is said to have been composed mainly of intelligent, moral and industrious men and women, and were well esteemed by their neighbors. They carried on many branches of business, such as farming, the manufacture of flour and lumber, and the various mechanical trades. They also ran a distillery for a period.

"Soon after establishing, they issued a weekly newspaper called the *Popular Tribune*, under the editorship of M. Cabet. This was afterward changed to the *Revue Icarienne*, and was printed partly in French and partly in English. While President Cabet was in Europe, the paper was left in charge of M. Piquenard, a young man who has since been conspicuous as architect of the new State House at Springfield.

"But the Community could not hold together; dissatisfaction arose; and in or about 1857 a considerable body left. In 1859 the concern broke up, most of the members leaving; but a remnant, consisting of less than a hundred persons, held together and re-established in Adams County, Iowa, where the colony still exists.

"These people were nearly all French. On leaving the Community a number of them settled in the county at various points, and are generally regarded as good citizens.

"At the time the Mormons were leaving Nauvoo, a great many persons, influenced by the hope of obtaining cheap property, settled in and around the city. A large portion of those in the city soon afterward left, and their places became gradually filled by foreigners, most of whom came to establish permanent homes, and still remain, a class of industrious, frugal and peaceable citizens. These people brought their Europ-

*The Temple was burned Nov. 19, 1848.

ean habits and customs with them, and Nauvoo to-day (1880) is perhaps more of a German town than any in the country. Beer, the national beverage, flows like water; and the latter, though pure and good, has gone out of fashion.

“The business of grape-growing and wine-making is quite extensively followed by these people, and the city and suburbs are thickly dotted with well-planted and neatly kept vineyards. The business, however, it may be observed, has met with its disappointments, and the golden anticipations of many who entered into it have not been realized.”

In the spring of 1849, which was about two years and a half after the last of the Saints left, Nauvoo was again incorporated as a city. From that time until the present, eighteen different men have held the office of mayor. Chancy Robison, the first mayor, is still alive. M. M. Morrill, who took part in the famous battle of Nauvoo, in September, 1846, fighting in the ranks of the defenders, has held the office of mayor at various times for 9½ years. Following is a list of names of all the mayors of the city, with the length of their terms of office from 1849 to 1889, a period of upwards of forty years:

Chancy Robison,	-	1849 to 1850
J. J. Brent,	-	1850 to 1851
W. M. Cosgrove,	-	1851 to 1852
M. S. Carey,	-	1852 to 1853
S. M. Chapman,	-	1853 to 1854
R. W. McKinney,	-	1854 to 1856
Ethan Kimball,	-	1856 to 1857
M. M. Morrill,	-	1857 to 1859
J. B. Icking,	-	1859 to 1860
M. M. Morrill (2nd term)		1860 to 1863
J. B. Icking (2nd term)		1863 to 1864
J. H. Lienhard,	-	1864 to 1865
M. M. Morrill (3rd term)		1865 to 1866
Henry Wiegand,	-	1866 to 1869
C. Knaust,	-	1869 to 1870
August Beger,	-	1870 to 1871
M. M. Morrill (4th term)		1871 to 1872
H. Wiegand (2nd term)		1872 to 1873
John G. Bratz,	-	1873 to 1874
August Beger (2nd term)		1874 to 1875
H. Wiegand (3rd term)		1875 to 1877
John U. Bechtold,	-	1877 to 1880
John Tanner,	-	1880 to 1883
W. D. Hibbard,	-	1883 to 1884
J. N. Datin,	-	1884 - 6 months
M. M. Morrill (5th term)		1884 to 1887
J. N. Datin (2nd term)		1887 to 18—

The author of this article, who visited Nauvoo in October, 1888, fully coincides with the views often expressed by other Elders, who of late years have seen the place where once stood a flourishing and beautiful city, but now an unimportant village, without railway connections or any of the modern improvements of the day. No enterprise has ever prospered in Nauvoo since the enemies of the Saints drove them across the Mississippi River in the hope of expatriating them. Neither the “Jack-Mormons,” the Icarians or the present German population have been able to revive that industry and thrift which made the place so famous when the Saints dwelt there.

In conclusion we quote the following from the pen of B. H. Roberts:

“The city of Nauvoo, in its palmyest days, was the largest in the State of Illinois, and its prospects under the control of the Saints were the most promising, * * * With a people of industry and enterprise, its future greatness was but a matter of time. Had the Saints been permitted to remain there in peace, none can doubt but that Nauvoo would to-day have been a formidable rival of Chicago, and would have affected the commerce of Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis and other river towns.

“But in the absence of such a population its history, since the Saints left, has been one of decline. The best houses to be seen there at the present time are those built by its founders over forty years ago. As an indication of the almost total lack of commerce and consequent shrinkage of values, it is told that a two-story brick house costing, at the time the Saints were building the city, upwards of \$2,000, was sold last year (1885), with the lot it stands upon, for \$300. Thus under the reign of her spoilers has the beautiful city crumbled to insignificance and decay, from which it may never be redeemed, until it is purged from the stain of guilt which they have put upon it. While the people who once made it the abode of peace are thriving in other lands, made rich and fruitful by their industry, this languishing city awaits their return to recover the lost glory that won for her the proud name, ‘Nauvoo the Beautiful.’”